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ELGIN SPEECHES

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BY

MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF

MEMBER FOR THE ELGIN DISTRICT OF BURGHS;

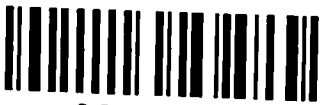
AUTHOR OF 'STUDIES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS,' ETC. ETC.

RR.c.57

EDINBURGH

EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS

1871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TO MY CONSTITUENTS.

GENTLEMEN,

As I was looking over, some few weeks ago, the speeches which I have at various times addressed to you in Elgin or in other Burghs of the District, it occurred to me that amidst much, the interest of which, if it ever had any, has long gone by, there were in them a good many things to which some interest might still attach, at least in the opinion of critics as indulgent as you have ever been towards me.

I read through, accordingly, nearly all, pencil in hand, and struck out numerous paragraphs, sentences, and phrases, in which either the matter or the form no longer pleased me, endeavouring, as much as possible, to preserve what might be least unworthy of your consecutive perusal in the year 1871, and getting rid of that element which exists, and must exist, in all speeches on the subjects of the day—viz. that which may be worth saying *once*, but is not worth repetition when controversies are settled.

I have not thought myself at liberty to add even a word; but here and there, where the opinion in the

text no longer expressed my views, I have called attention by a footnote.

Not a few events have occurred since I addressed you last autumn in Elgin, on which, if I had been in the North, I should like to have said a word. There, for example, was the Russian Note. So much was said about the offence to the international proprieties involved in this unfortunate document, that I should certainly *not* have troubled you upon that part of the subject; but I should like to have explained what appeared to me to be the reasons which made the Russian Foreign Office take so very dangerous a step, —a step which might well have involved the Empire in a war, and destroyed half the results of that wise valetudinarianism to which it has been given up since the Crimean catastrophe.

The Russian Foreign Office was influenced, I conceive, in giving the somewhat *brusque* and offensive form which it did to its proceedings, chiefly by two motives. *First,* By a desire on the part of Prince Gortschakoff to obtain once more that kind of popularity with his own countrymen which his diplomatic victories over the Western Powers in 1863 obtained for him during some months in such ample measure; and, *Secondly,* By a desire, in which his colleague the Minister of War fully sympathised, to give the country a shock, with a view to making it easier to carry out the great military reforms which are now going on, and which will require such heavy sacrifices from Russian society. Nor must we forget that the Czar himself has always dwelt with pain upon the recollec-

tion that his reign began with a humiliation, nor that the hyper-patriotic party has been pressing upon the Government to take some action against the settlement of 1856 before the conclusion of the Franco-German war set free the hands of what it well knows to be the most redoubtable enemy of undue Russian ambition—the young giant Germany.

These were, as I think, the propelling motives of the Russian Foreign Office. It calculated, further, that neither France nor Prussia could do anything for the moment, and that England and Austria would be satisfied with condemning the form, while they allowed the substance of its acts.

It miscalculated, however, the amount of opposition that was to be encountered in this country, and which, if a weak Government had held the reins of power, or, if the majority of the House of Commons had shared fully the passions that found vent in a large portion of the press, might very probably have caused some act to be done, which Russia must have resented even at the risk of a great disaster.

Happily, the Government was not weak, and the constituencies, as was clearly proved when Parliament re-assembled, kept their heads, so that all parties may now say, "All's well that ends well," though, for that matter, I suspect that, on the banks of the Neva, those who were behind the scenes in the month of November add, under their breath, "It was more good luck than good guiding."

If I had had an opportunity of addressing you while this question was uppermost in men's minds, I should

have tried to show what fearful ruin a war in Eastern Europe would have caused at present, alike to Russia, to Austria, and to Turkey. I should have done so in the spirit of a letter that was addressed to me, on the 29th November 1870, by M. Emile de Lavéleye, from which I will make a quotation.

"I am astonished to see your journals treat the Russian incident in so superficial a manner. They do not pass beyond the circle of mere juridical argumentation—'Russia is bound'—'she violates her word'—'we must force her to respect it.'

"But surely, above and before all things, you should look if this is for the interest of England—if it is for the interest of Europe. In my opinion, to make war now would be more than a folly—it would be a crime. In order to attack Russia, you must draw Austria along with you. Now, to carry Austria into this war, would be, in all probability, to kill her. From the Polish frontier to Vienna it is only seven or eight marches. Will the English be there to stop the Russians?

"You will throw into the arms of Russia all the Sclaves who, left to themselves, would be the adversaries of Moscow.

"If you must fight, wait for the end of the Franco-Prussian struggle. United Germany will never permit Russia to go to Constantinople.

"It is impossible to know what our rulers are doing or dreaming, but here are what seem to me the logical results of the situation. If England makes war now, she will bring Russia to the Balkan by destroying

Austria. If she keeps the peace, Russia will be stopped by a unified Germany. Therefore war would be a *folly*, because you would be going straight against the very purpose which you have in view—a *crime*, because you would be ruining Austria, which you could not efficiently defend."

I would not speak so confidently as M. de Lavéleye does about the result of the war being to bring Russia to the Balkan, because I do not feel quite sure that the Austrian army is not at this moment sufficiently superior to the Russian to counterbalance the political forces which Russia can call to her aid upon the lower Danube. All that I feel quite certain about is, that a war between Russia on the one side, and Austria and Turkey on the other, would have inflicted the most awful and intolerable calamities upon all the countries from the south-west angle of the Baltic to the Black Sea. But then it must not be forgotten that M. de Lavéleye is better acquainted with the Austria of to-day than any Western publicist or politician of whose existence I know anything.

I wish, as I have before said to you, that more pains were taken to keep those who have the responsibility of directing the political action of this country fully informed about Austrian matters, for the questions of Austria, or, as the Germans call it, *Œsterreich*, the Eastern Kingdom, really cover all that Eastern question of which we have heard so much, and it can, I think, now only be wisely approached through a study of them. Were but the relations of the German provinces of Austria to the Fatherland

definitely settled, then much, to repeat words which I used at Elgin last November, might become easy.

Then we might say—What civilisation is to prevail in the lower valley of the Danube—on the shores of the Black Sea—in the peninsula of the Balkan?—that is the question of questions in the European politics of the next thirty years. Round that will gather and grow a vast web of hopes and fears, intrigues and alliances. In it England has very little interest of a direct, palpable, and obvious kind. The direct interest of England in any solution of the Eastern question that leaves Egypt and the line from the north-east corner of the Levant to the Persian Gulf absolutely open for our transit to and from India is small indeed. He, however, but little deserves the name of an English statesman who is satisfied to look merely at the direct interests of this country.

England has the strongest indirect interest in the right, and, if possible, peaceful settlement of the great controversy in which Austria and Russia are the chief litigants, and in which the Ottoman power, the Poles, and the whole of Germany, are so deeply concerned.

Far be it from me to attempt to dogmatise as to how this controversy ought to be settled. Still farther be it from me to commit the folly of prophesying how it will be settled. I do enough if I point out that henceforward, and for many a day to come, the *great* European drama will be acted to the east, not to the west, of Berlin and Vienna. There will, of course, be numerous smaller dramas going on at the same time, and from the fact of their being acted in more familiar

regions, they may appear bigger to some of us, but their relative bigness will nevertheless be a mere optical illusion.

Of this controversy many settlements have been suggested—

(1.) The maintenance of the *status quo*, that is, of Russia chafing against the newly-acquired power of Germany—ever ready to take offence at the proceedings of Austria in Galicia—holding down her own western provinces with a heel of iron, and determined to hold them down till the last spark of Polish sympathy is crushed out of them—holding Congress Poland down too, but with much misgiving as to her power to crush out Polish nationality in that wide region;—Germany, conscious of her vast power, conscious too of many humiliations from Russia in the past, and of some annoyances, as that of the Baltic provinces, in the present—impelled, too, to the East, and beginning to see a path for German civilisation right down through Asia Minor to that Mediterranean which exercises such a fascination on the dwellers "by the Baltic and the Northern Sea;"—Poland silent, and biding her time;—Austria at length more than half aware that Moscow, and not Berlin, is her real enemy—her populations gravitating hither and thither, some towards the Fatherland, some towards a resuscitated Poland, some towards Russia, some towards Italy, some towards, and only towards, a united Pesth and Vienna, as the one hope of safety;—the Ottoman Empire disciplining great masses of troops in Asia Minor, collecting ironclads in the Golden Horn,

loosening her hold of her Christian provinces;—that is the *status quo*, and you may judge if it is indefinitely maintainable.

(2.) The gradual formation of a United States of the Danube, under the Presidency of the House of Hapsburg—a United States of the Danube in which Magyars, Roumans, Croatians, Bosnians, Servians, and Bulgarians, should all live together in mutual self-respect, supported by the close alliance and the whole European influence of Germany.

(3.) The Pan-Sclavist idea,* involving the destruction of Austria and the Ottoman power, as well as the aggregation of the minor Sclavonic populations of Europe around the nucleus of Russia, with Constantinople and Moscow for their capitals.

These are the principal settlements that have been proposed, but there have been numberless proposals for settling one or more of the questions which are involved in this vast political lawsuit; such as the union of Bosnia and Servia under the suzerainty of the Sultan—the absolute independence of Roumania—the fostering of Bulgarian nationality until it becomes strong enough to inherit from the Turk—the resuscitation of a Greek Empire—the making Constantinople and its territory into a free city under a European guarantee, and many more.

It seems to me important, however, that you should

* The most recent embodiment of this idea is a pamphlet by General Fadeyeff, written with great force and clearness, which has been translated by Mr. Michell, and is published in its English dress by Mr. Stanford at Charing Cross.

distinctly apprehend that the real question is simply this: Whether, on the whole, is it best for humanity, that the civilisation of Petersburg and Moscow, or of Berlin and Vienna, should prevail in South-Eastern Europe? Or, in other words, whether it is most natural and desirable that the ambition of Russia, which must be gratified in some way or other, should be gratified by extension towards the South, or towards the East; towards Greece, or towards Central Asia and China.

Then, I should like to have said a word on that terrible cannon-fever which seized so many reasonable people in the last months of 1870, driving them to wish to run their heads now against this stone wall, now against that — to send our 'thin red line' to-day to Normandy, to-morrow to the Danube, no matter where, provided only it were employed in killing and being killed. For myself, I have never been so thoroughly indisposed to see this country at war, as I have been since the fatal day when the Emperor of the French took the resolution to force on the long-foreseen contest with Germany.

I, and those who think with me, do not belong to the peace-at-any-price party; we belong, in this year 1871, to the peace-almost-at-any-price party, and we do so for these reasons :—

In the first place, because, for many generations back, England has had her fill of such glory as comes from military success, a glory not to be despised, but, at the same time, not to be over-rated. Look for a moment at the history of this planet, as if we belonged to an-

other, and had no partisan interest in the fame of any nation. What existing community can point, I do not say to equal success in arms, but to success even faintly comparable with ours? And observe that this success has not been won, like that of most other warlike communities, in or near our own dwelling-place, but under every imaginable combination of difficulty, alike in the Old Continent and in the New. Is there any evidence that there has been the slightest falling-off in the aptitude of this country for military success? We have had no small amount of difficult work forced upon us in the last twenty years. Have we anywhere shown ourselves inferior to our forefathers? And if not, why should so many people be tormented with a desire to rush into quarrels which are none of ours, as if we, like some of our neighbours, were the *parvenus* of glory, not yet quite certain of our position in the world?

In the second place, because, being perfectly at ease about our aptitude for military success, quite confident that, if we were only foolish and wicked enough to will it, we could make ourselves an almost intolerable nuisance, at least in Europe and Asia, and exceedingly unpleasant in America into the bargain, without any danger of suffering as much misery as we inflicted, we have deliberately set our heart upon other objects.

This country has a large and rapidly-growing population. A very considerable fraction of that population —say, speaking roughly, perhaps a million and a half— has at its command more of the raw material of happiness than any equally large fraction of any other nation ever had; but the immense majority of our

people has really not *very* much more command of the raw material of happiness—observe I put an accent on the very—than they had a hundred years ago;* and although the fraction I have alluded to has this exceptional command of the raw material of happiness, it *is* raw material, and the happiness is too often enjoyed in a stupid, unintelligent, semi-human sort of way. Now, we wish to alter this state of things: we wish the majority of the nation to have the command of the raw material of happiness, and we wish the fraction which has that already, to enjoy its happiness after a higher fashion.

To attain this object we must have peace—Peace, that we may create everywhere new and improve old international relations, may supplement our own limited land area by peacefully overflowing the waste lands of others,† and may double, treble, and if possible decuple our trade, so as to have profitable employment for almost everybody—Peace in order that we may keep the minds of the fortunate fraction of our community fixed upon self-improvement, and the increase of the

* It is to be remembered, likewise, that the less prosperous portion of our people can now compare with its own lot the lot of the masses in younger and less populous countries. This was not so in former times.

† Some of the most mischievous proposals that have been recently brought forward are based on the assumption that land is an article of which there is a very limited supply. True enough, if we take a merely parochial British view, but for the next half-dozen generations land is practically unlimited. Let us see what can be done to break down the barriers between nations, to restore the Cyrenaica, Asia Minor, and the Eastern Peninsula to civilisation, to bring Southern Siberia and much of Central Asia within its pale, before we get into a panic about the limited supply of land.

general prosperity of the world, which is another name for *our* prosperity, instead of allowing its sympathies to run to seed in barren partisanship with one or other combatant in battles of which it is only the spectator, or, worse still, in even keener sympathies with its own combatant legions.

I have pointed out our first and capital object, but we have a great many others for which peace is equally essential. We have got the civilising and elevating into something of which we may be really proud—of that Indian Empire into the possession of which we literally blundered; but having blundered into the possession of which, we cannot in honour or in decency rest content with aims less high than those which I once, when addressing you, summed up in the following words :—

" . . . To keep the peace among two hundred millions of men; to raise the material prosperity of the regions subject to our rule to a point which they could not possibly have attained while split up amongst countless petty rulers, even if all these petty rulers were as virtuous as that princess whom Sir John Malcolm described as goodness personified; to pit the intelligence and science of the west against those terrible natural calamities which are the scourge of that portion of the earth's surface; to curb rivers; to cleanse towns; to lead waters through the desert; to make famines as rare as they have become in Europe; to extend geographical and scientific research through every corner of India, and, as occasion serves, through all those countries adjacent to India, for the explora-

tion of which its rulers have facilities not shared by other men; to raise the standard of justice and administration; to impart all Western culture that can be expected to flourish on Indian soil; to make a royal road for every inquirer who wishes to collect whatever of value to mankind at large has through countless ages been carved on stone, or stamped on metal, or recorded in manuscripts, or handed down by tradition throughout Southern Asia; to offer to the youth of Britain their choice of a variety of careers, by all of which, in return for good work done to the natives of India, which those natives of India cannot in the present stage of their history do for themselves, an early and honourable independence may be won far more easily than in this country of overcrowded professions and fierce competition; to increase the riches of the world by developing to the fullest possible extent the resources of one of its most favoured portions; and to hold in no spirit of narrow monopoly, but from the mere necessity of the case, the keys of the gates by which the greater portion of that wealth flows out to bless mankind; to give to all other nations an example how a strong race should rule weaker ones;—these are some of the principal objects which are within our reach, and towards the attainment of which we are steadily advancing."

Then, again, we have our Colonial Empire, and the manifest duty of doing as much as we can, without neglecting other interests, to promote the true prosperity of our colonies as long as they remain connected with us, and of starting them well upon an

independent career if they ever wish to part from us.

For the attainment of these minor objects, as well as of our first and capital object, we equally want peace.

In order, however, that we may obtain peace, what is required is—

First, That the national mind should approach all troublesome international questions with a sincere and anxious desire for a pacific solution of them. I think the national mind, as represented by the constituencies, does this more than some people believe; but if I were to judge from the tone of a large portion of the press with regard to various recent events, and more especially to the Gortschakoff circular, I should form a very different impression. Sooner or later, unless the habit of seeing an occasion for quarrel in every proceeding of every nation which does not quite accord with our ideas of right is abandoned, we shall find ourselves involved in some war or other.

Secondly, It is required that the national mind should inform itself more distinctly of the facts of foreign politics, of the actualities of the world. The old Greek saying, "All things are in a state of flux, nought remains fixed," is truer of nothing than it is of the political State system, or want of system, in which we are living. We should take far more care than we do, as a nation, to keep ourselves informed, not only of what is passing, but of the tendencies which are beginning to manifest themselves, in all the countries with which we have relations. It is right, nay, it is absolutely necessary, to have at all times a fixed and

definite policy, but this policy must be perpetually tested and revised by the light of additional information. The ideal Foreign Office and the ideal newspaper should be as sensitive as the prepared plate of the photographer.

Thirdly, It is required that we should aim at living in the community of nations as well-bred people live in society; gracefully acknowledging the rights of others, and confident, if we ever think about the matter at all, that others will soon come to do no less for us.

But some bellicose person says, "I too wish for peace, but you know the maxim, *Si vis pacem, para bellum.*" I know it, indeed, though I much prefer the maxim, *Si vis pacem, para pacem.* At the same time, I do not for an instant deny that we must now, and for many a long day to come, spend a vast deal of money upon armaments. An incomparable navy;* an adequate army for the home and the Indian service, and for garrisoning the eagles' nests which we own in various parts of the world, are of course matters of first necessity. We ought, without any difficulty, to

* Nothing seems more natural now than that an Englishman should wish for an incomparable Navy. Will the day ever come when it will seem not less natural that he should wish for a Diplomatic Service, having its ramifications in all the ends of the earth—Argus-eyed to detect every opportunity of advancing the general weal,—combining in itself all that is most solid in wisdom, mature in experience, brilliant in ability, graceful in culture; and last, not least (to borrow a happy phrase, which is attributed to one of the not too numerous diplomatists who have properly appreciated their noble profession), organised as perfectly for the attainment of its ends as the Prussian Army or the Society of Jesus?

be able to keep, for the defence of these islands, a force numerically equal to any that could possibly be landed on our shores, and distinctly superior, as much in the skill of its officers and men as in the perfection of their equipment, to the best troops in any other country, not as they might land in England, but as they would be upon their own parade-grounds. The possession of adequate armaments is quite compatible with, nay, is a condition of, the peace-almost-at-any-price policy; but a disinclination to use them, except in the direst necessity, is also a condition of that policy, and so too is a contemptuous indifference to the criticism of rivals and candid friends.

If our history is good for anything, it is to allow us to do what we in our conscience know to be right, and to meet all cavils with the proud motto of the Earls Marischal—"They say: what say they? let them say."

It is easy to talk of our treaty engagements, and to number up the *possible* contingencies which might require us to go to war in Europe; but if we look, as reasonable men must, at the direction that things are taking, and at what is *reasonably probable*, how many of these engagements are ever likely to induce a wise government to land a single regiment on the European Continent?

HAMPDEN HOUSE, MISSENDEN,
April 13, 1871.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ELGIN SPEECHES.

1860.

GENTLEMEN—The session which came to an end in the month of August has not won golden opinions from the dispensers of praise and blame in the columns of the newspapers. It has been called the "session of talk," the "late session," the "session of much cry and little wool." If I gave it a nickname, I think it would be a more honourable one. I should call it the "session of eloquence." Not only has our political literature been enriched by three speeches which belong to the first order of merit—Mr. Gladstone's Budget statement, Sir Edward Lytton's declamation on the Reform Bill, and Mr. Horsman's spoken essay on the Relations of the two Houses—but the general level of debating has been unusually high, and many really memorable speeches have been delivered by persons who are not so much before the country as those whom I have named. I may mention, amongst a host of others, Mr. Vivian's observations on the coal question, Mr. Kinglake's final speech on foreign affairs; and last, but not least, the very remarkable statement of Mr. Gregory, the member for Galway, upon the Reform Bill—a speech which, although it did not bear very closely upon the question before the House, is yet a valuable addition to our knowledge of that great republic to which some of our politicians look with longing eyes, and in the success of which mankind has so large a stake.

But all this oratory was dearly bought. Long and good speaking seemed to become infectious before a month had

passed by, and, as the session proceeded, it was evident that it would either be an extraordinarily long, or only a moderately productive one. Government likewise attempted too much. To carry a budget which involved details without end, and bristled with disputed points—to revolutionise the constitution of Parliament, to pass the gigantic Bankruptcy Bill, which was a code in itself, to alter the whole military system of India, would have been a difficult not to say an impossible enterprise, even with the most submissive of Parliaments, and it was by no means with a submissive Parliament that ministers had to deal, as any one who observes the extraordinary fluctuation in the majorities which supported them, will easily comprehend.

It is not surprising that those who look upon the Commercial Treaty as a blunder and a misfortune should think that the late session was wasted; but I cannot understand language of this sort in the mouths of those who believe it to be a great blessing to us all. From the first I have been strongly in its favour. I was in Paris when it was announced, and witnessed the profound irritation which it caused amongst the French Protectionists. I was much gratified by receiving a month or two ago a note from an English gentleman, not at first a partisan of the measure, with whom I had discussed it at the beginning of the session, and who since has had the very best official opportunity of knowing exactly what was passing in France. He assured me that everything had turned out infinitely better than he had expected, and that the details of the Treaty were being arranged with great fairness by the French authorities.

I think it was I who, by a happy accident, had the opportunity of being the first to express in the House of Commons those sentiments of goodwill to Garibaldi and his enterprise which have since been so general. How strangely rapid has been the progress of events! It is little more than

four months since I spoke, before the news of the landing at Marsala had come to this country. What I then ventured to hope for was a guerilla war carried on with success in the interior of Sicily, while the great towns remained in the hands of the Neapolitans. Now, however, we have the King of Naples cooped up in a corner of his continental dominions, a mere eyot amidst the flood of revolution. I wish one could feel secure in the permanence of Garibaldi's success; but we dare not forget that these men of Southern Italy are the sons and sons' sons of slaves—that they have never yet proved themselves able either to retain their freedom, or even to make a stand in the open field. If their sovereign is descended from the miscreant who called in the bayonets of the foreigner, they are the children of the imbeciles who gave up what might have easily been the Thermopylæ of Italy, the pass of Antrodoco. With regard to their fitness for self-government, there is a document to which I would refer you, I mean the speech of Lord Heytesbury in the House of Peers in 1849, in which he describes in much detail the disastrous confusion which led to the fall of the Sicilian constitution of 1812; but I confess I have in Cavour a confidence which I have not in Garibaldi. I do not believe him to be so single-minded a politician, but I fear it is but too true in such a game as this Italian one, as in many others, that he who would be successful must suffer not only fools but rogues gladly.

The events in Italy are rapidly bringing near that consummation so devoutly to be wished for—the cessation of the temporal power of the Pope. It would be rash to predict that Pius the Ninth will be the last bishop of Rome who will wield the sceptre; but so much at least is certain, that a very influential section of the Sacred College would be quite willing that it should be so. The views of the Eldest Son of the Church upon this subject are sufficiently known to the world, from M. About's pamphlet; and the Protestant States

can have no interest in the matter, except to welcome an event which will restore something like prosperity to the unhappy provinces of Central Italy.

I do not know that such an event will be a gain to our mere professed controversialists, because they will lose a most powerful argument when they can no longer point to the wretchedness which is worked by the Papal Government. Its real character will in time be forgotten, a sentimental halo will gather around it, and the infamy of the *Monsignori* will leave no remembrance out of Italy; while all the world will recollect the constancy of Pius VII., and the well-meant psuedo-liberalism of Pius IX. Good and thoughtful men, however, both Protestants and Catholics, will heartily rejoice. For ages yet to come they will dispute. It is impossible, indeed, for us to look forward to the time when a certain order of minds will not embrace the teaching of the Roman Church; but still we hope, in spite of Orange ruffianism in Canada, and Green ruffianism in Ireland, that these quarrels will ultimately be transferred from the streets to the cloisters and the schools.

Fears have lately been expressed with regard to the proposed meeting of the Emperors of Austria and Russia at Warsaw. When despots become reconciled, it is an evil day for freedom. This is true, but the position of those two potentates is very different from that of Nicholas and Francis Joseph, when their stars came into ominous conjunction in 1849, and the Hungarian revolt was crushed by the surrender of Vilagos. The prestige of Russia was then unbroken. The vast military machine to which the late Czar had sacrificed the prosperity of his people had not then endured the rough handling of the Crimean War. You must not forget that although Russia was defeated in every encounter with the allied fleets and armies, the losses which she sustained in that way were absolutely trifling compared to those which

resulted from the exertions which she made to pour troops into the Crimea. A Russian officer, when describing the horrors of the campaign to a relation of mine, mentioned that he had marched from Moscow at the head of a regiment and entered Sebastopol with only eleven men.

Again, the great question of the emancipation of the serfs had not, except by philosophers and philanthropists like M. Tourgueneff,* then been stirred. That social revolution will, one would think, keep the hands of the Czar's government sufficiently full.

A work has lately appeared from the pen of a Russian nobleman, entitled *La Verité sur la Russie.* It is well worth studying by those who would form some idea of the coming history of the mighty empire with which we were so lately at war, and which is in some sort the natural antithesis—I do not say the natural enemy of England. Far indeed from that. I quite agree with M. Herzen in his pamphlet published under the feigned name of Iskander, in thinking that a free Russia would be our natural ally—for our interests would not clash but coincide.

If we turn to the other side of the picture, Austria is not what she was, even in 1849. Profound peace reigns throughout her borders, yet she is almost bankrupt. Even the Dutch, the most confiding of her creditors, are alarmed. That high-spirited army which saved the empire in the revolutionary crisis is dispirited and dissatisfied. The repressive system has broken down, and the rulers in Vienna are obliged to make concessions, which, as usual, come too late.

The Volunteer movement I take to be the most important guarantee for the peace of Europe which recent times have seen. Its moral effect on the Continent has been great, and will be greater when its magnitude is better under-

* M. Nicolas Tourgueneff, author of *La Russie et les Russes.*

stood. M. Esquiros, already well known by his excellent work on Holland and by other publications, has led the way in an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, in which he has pointed out the absurdity of the saying which has been so much repeated of late, that Great Britain is a naval but not a military nation. I am glad that the people of this city, and of this constituency generally, have not been behind in the good work. The distrust of the designs of France which prevailed so generally last autumn, was not, I think, ill founded. I can vouch at least for this being the view of many of the people in Paris who are best able to form an opinion.

Prevention is better than cure, and many of the wars which desolate the world might be avoided by skilful diplomacy. Deeply impressed with the importance of that branch of the public service, when it was clear that the late member for Stafford, Mr. Wise, was not likely again to be able to do anything in connection with it, I ventured to move late in the month of June for a Select Committee upon "the present state of the diplomatic service, and the best means of increasing its efficiency"—not, of course, at that advanced period of the session expecting to obtain a committee, but wishing to pave the way for a future move in the same direction. I am glad to say that I have succeeded in my object, the question having been taken up by Mr. Milnes, whose position as former chairman of the Consular Committee, makes him peculiarly calculated to address the House with authority upon all matters of this sort, and as whose lieutenant I am proud to act. No one who looks into the matter can doubt that an inquiry is extremely desirable. I am in no way bigoted in favour of my own suggestions with regard to them, though they have been approved by some of the ablest persons connected with the service. All I wish for is light, and that, sooner or later, we shall succeed in obtaining.

With regard to the Reform Bill, you already know my opinions, and I do not care to advert at length to a subject of which the country appears for the moment to be somewhat weary. It is abundantly clear that all parties agree that some considerable alteration in our present electoral system is expedient, but it is hardly less clear that there is not that definite conviction as to the propriety of passing any measure which has been as yet put forth by any section of politicians which must precede the effective settlement of this great question. No one can, however, have watched with attention the course of the discussion on the Reform Bill, without observing that the act of 1832 has at least insured this—that public opinion is so well represented by the present Parliament that a Reform Bill is quite certain to be passed as soon as a considerable majority, I do not say of the constituency, but of the Liberal party in the constituency, is heartily in its favour. The worst feature in the Reform movement, up to this time, is that it has been rather a Parliamentary than a popular movement. There is but one way in which the Reform Bill can be made a good one. Do you, each one of you, form your own judgment as to what it ought to be. This is pre-eminently a question in which a wise legislator will follow, not lead, public opinion.

A cry has been got up in connection with this subject by the *Quarterly Review*, and other anti-Liberal organs, that there is a Conservative re-action in the country. I think this is a mere delusion. The people are puzzled about the method of Reform, but as to having given up the wish for Reform, that is quite another affair. To talk of re-actions in the politics of this island is, I would fain hope, an anachronism. Our progress towards the complete adoption of all the views of thoughtful and philosophic, as distinguished from mere Boanerges-liberalism, is, I trust, unceasing. If we appear to be retrograding, I think, at worst, we are only advancing in a spiral

instead of a straight line. True Liberalism may, I venture to believe, take for itself that proud Spanish motto—"Time and I, gentlemen, against any two."

1861.

AGAIN, Gentlemen, I have the pleasure of acknowledging your friendly greetings after a session, which, if it has been somewhat barren of events, has been marked by no disasters, and which has left the country as it found it, under the management of wisely moderate, and truly liberal statesmen.

One of the small evils which are to be set off against the contentment which reigns amongst our population is the absence of strong political interest in the great mass of the community. For the moment, people have ceased to be much occupied with the question of Reform. There is no great difference of opinion as to the method in which the material prosperity of the country is to be advanced. Every one wishes to keep out of war or entangling foreign relations, and there is no question before us which excites any strong feelings. This is not a favourable position of affairs for the Liberal party. If it were to continue for any considerable length of time, and if the Conservatives had a leader in whom the bulk of the people could have confidence, we might easily slip under Conservative rule. It is not for me to say what are the questions which the Liberal party would do right to stir if it wishes to remain really a Liberal-Reforming-Movement party. Perhaps the folly of our opponents, if they push their anti-Church Rate triumph a little too far, may chance to give our leaders a hint.

I should not like to see it ever become the custom, either in Scotland or in any other country to which I wished well, to

educate her sons too much within her own borders. We have an excellent proverb that the "gangin' fit is aye gettin'." It has ever been usual with us to send our students all over Christendom. I trust that this excellent practice may increase in geometrical ratio with the increased facility of travelling. It is a proud thing for Scotland that the Scotch College at Oxford should, for the last five-and-twenty years, have outstripped so thoroughly the great foundations of Philippa and Wolsey, and I know not how many others. I should like to see us have the converse glory of possessing within our own land foundations to which other countries should be as anxious to send their sons as any of us may be to send ours to Balliol, or to Heidelberg, or to Trinity, Cambridge. Some of you are aware that I obtained from the Government, in the month of June last, the promise of a Royal Commission to inquire into the public and chief endowed schools of England. When I put my motion on the paper in the early part of the session, I by no means expected to effect what I wished without much trouble and opposition, because, although the excellent articles which had appeared in the *Cornhill* and elsewhere had prepared the public mind for an inquiry into these institutions, I feared that as soon as the question was stirred in the House, the old "Floreat Etona" cry might be raised, and that the same bad success might attend my efforts which proved fatal to those of Mr. Brougham in 1818. I was then much relieved when, a day or two before the motion was to come on, I ascertained that Ministers were not unfavourable to my proposal; and my satisfaction was much increased when somewhat later I found that they were willing to go so far in the direction in which I wished to move, that I had nothing to do but to leave the matter in their hands. If I had thought that the good likely to result from such an inquiry would be limited to carrying into effect the recommendations of any commission which could at present be issued, however respectably com-

posed, I would not have meddled with the question. While, however, I have great confidence in the Commissioners, I have even more confidence in the results of the full discussion which their report is sure to meet with.

In several of these schools great changes are wanted in matters of detail. In several of them there are great abuses. In two, Harrow and Rugby, there are, as far as I know, no abuses at all, and if it be granted that the course of study now pursued at these two schools is right, and not, as I think, in many respects radically wrong, then they are quite admirable institutions. This, however, is neither the time nor the place for discussing theories of education, and I will only allude in passing to one circumstance which seems to me very consolatory to all friends of progress. This very inquiry, which is now granted with hardly a dissentient voice, was resisted most furiously only forty-three years ago. The *Quarterly Review*, for example, spoke of Dr. Goodall of Eton having been subjected to examination by Mr. Brougham's committee, as if it had been a profanation of the holiest things, and quoted the lines—

> Thus England's monarch *once* uncovered sat,
> While Bradshaw bullied in a broad-brimmed hat.

The only important party struggle of the session was on the worn-out question of the Paper Duty. An attempt was made to raise a false issue by asserting that the form in which the arrangements announced in the Budget speech were embodied in a bill, was an invasion of the privileges of the House of Lords, but the learning of Mr. Macdonogh, one of the chief Irish supporters of the Derbyite party, was expended in vain in trying to convince either the House or the country that such was really the case. All moderate men were agreed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken the only course which was open to him after the events of last year, and a sufficient number of those who generally

vote with Mr. D'Israeli went into the same lobby with the Government or stayed away, to enable us to obtain an easy victory.

Towards the close of the summer several new appointments were made in consequence of the changes rendered necessary by the retirement of Lord Herbert. I am afraid that some of these were not very popular in the House of Commons, and I fancied that I observed the same uneasy, and, so to speak, thunderous state of the political atmosphere which preceded the fall of the Liberal Government in 1858. I cannot say that I see anything to object to in the appointments to which I refer, though one or two of them seem to need some explanation. Sir George Lewis has shown himself able to do so many things well, that he may very probably prove as efficient as usual, even in a department of the public service which seems so ludicrously remote from his aptitudes and pursuits. All fair-minded persons must rejoice to see a politician of Mr. Layard's ability and extensive knowledge of foreign affairs having the rare good fortune of being for a second time carried forward upon that tide which rarely comes twice in the affairs of men.

The same good sense and moderation which were so conspicuously displayed by the House of Commons before the outbreak of the war in Italy two years ago, prevented any discussion of American affairs during the past session. When we consider how great was the temptation to the Conservative party to use the events which have been taking place in the United States as a text for a warning to reformers in the spirit of Mr. Gregory's speech of last year—when we consider how anxiously the merchants engaged in the American trade must have looked for some expression of Governmental opinion about the various questions of International Law, which will probably require solution before this deplorable contest is at an end—when we consider what a field was open for anti-

slavery, anti-Brightian, and anti-Yankee declamation—I think we may congratulate ourselves on that long practice of free discussion which has taught us when to be silent as well as when to speak.

The discussion on the affairs of Italy, which took place in March, gave Mr. Roebuck an opportunity of coming forward as the champion of Austria, a character which he has since more than once sustained amongst his constituents at Sheffield. I am by no means so much surprised that he should do so, as that, having determined to take that side, he should not have made a better defence for his protegé. I do not agree with Mr. Roebuck in wishing that Austria should keep Venetia, but I am free to admit that she has a great deal to say for herself. To many Austrian statesmen the Quadrilateral appears to be not only a means of influence in Italy, but an absolutely necessary defence of Germany. If we sell Venetia, they say, we must expend much more than we get for it in building new fortifications, and in maintaining 150,000 additional troops. It is vain to talk to us of defending the Italian Alps; we know that they would be a poor barrier if we did not command the north-east corner of Italy. Vienna would not be safe in case of a war with France, as the campaign of 1797 very sufficiently proves. Again they say—If we lose Venice, how long shall we keep Trieste, or even Fiume? How long shall we keep the Dalmatian coast? How long shall we have any navy or mercantile marine at all? They would go on to urge much about its being the interest of all Europe that they should hold the Quadrilateral against France or against Italy, which they consider likely to be the vassal of France. They would add reflections on England for refusing to them in Venetia the rights which she claims in Malta and in Gibraltar —with professions of their intention to be warned by the past, and to rule Venetia as we now do Ireland. But I cannot pause longer upon this. You will find these and other argu-

ments enforced with great ability in a pamphlet by Mr. Bonamy Price, which puts the Austrian side of the question, as it seems to me, very much more felicitously than Mr. Roebuck has done.

To all such arguments, however, there seems to me this answer—It is too late. Doubtless it will be inconvenient for Austria to lose Venetia, but by her own outrageous folly she has rendered her permanent retention of it quite impossible. Thirty years ago Italian unity was the aspiration of a few exiles. The atrocious system which Austria established in her own Italian dominions, and the much more atrocious system which she fostered beyond their limits, have made it the faith of an entire people. Italy might have been great and happy, although divided into half-a-dozen states. Austrian-Italy might have been happy, though the white uniform was to be seen in all her strong places, but her rulers deliberately chose that this should not be so, and consequently they may rest assured that no complaints of inconvenience, no suggestion of danger to English interests (dangers which, I may observe, seem to me very visionary), will prevent the English people fully sympathising with the Italians when it seems good to them once more to take the field.

Many of you have read, no doubt, the remarks which were recently made by Lord Palmerston in a speech at Dover. These remarks have attracted the more attention, because they called forth a somewhat angry rejoinder from a most eminent person, and a good friend of this country—I mean M. Michel Chevalier. This gentleman, to whom the great—the almost sacred cause of Free-trade owes so much, took Lord Palmerston to task in an address which he recently delivered at Montpelier—as if Lord Palmerston had been actuated by passions which belonged to another and a less enlightened age. Now, I am sure no one, who knows what he is talking about, will accuse me of being wanting in respect

for M. Michel Chevalier, for whom publicly and privately I have the sincerest esteem. He is a good man and an able man, he is a great political economist, but he wants, perhaps, that political sense which is so necessary to a statesman. Very early in life he embraced, like not a few who have since become eminent among our neighbours, the St. Simonian opinions, and although he has long since, I doubt not, outlived that phase of belief, one cannot help seeing in this Montpelier address, traces of the same habit of mind which was so conspicuous in his youth. He looks at the Emperor and his doings through rose-coloured spectacles. Because Napoleon III. is a convert to Free-trade, because he has done and is doing much for the material prosperity of France, M. Chevalier forgets all that is menacing to other nations in the attitude which he adopts abroad, all that is debasing and dangerous to France in the repressive policy which he enforces at home. To read his panegyric, one would think that that golden age of which St. Simon himself so truly said, "It is not in the past but in the future," had indeed arrived. It made me think of a leading article which I read some months ago in a Piedmontese newspaper, which announced to the world that, "under the auspices of Victor Emmanuel, Lord Palmerston, and Napoleon III., good had at length commenced to prevail over evil." Now, I say to M. Chevalier, and I am sure I speak the sentiments of most of his English friends—

We believe that on the friendship of France and England depends the happiness of our age. We believe that a war with France would do more to imperil the results of civilisation, and to retard its advance, than almost anything that could be mentioned. We are ready to admit that, in all the negotiations connected with the Commercial Treaty, the French Government behaved with the strictest honour, and with the greatest courtesy. We know that our friendly sen-

timents are reciprocated by many persons in all classes in France. We know that the Emperor himself reciprocates them, with certain reservations; but we also know that the masses in France do not reciprocate them. We know that hatred of England is deeply rooted amongst the peasantry and in the army. We know that, at any moment, the scruples of the enlightened, and the wishes of the Emperor himself, would have to be disregarded if the popular voice called loudly for war with England. And who shall say that, if England interfered with any of the wild schemes of ambition which possess so many minds in France, the popular voice would not do so?

To show how thoroughly unsettled people's ideas of political right and wrong have become beyond the Channel, I will relate a conversation which I had in Paris, last December, with an eminent French political writer*—one, indeed, of the half-dozen most eminent political writers in France. We were discussing the decrees of the 24th of November last, which, as you will remember, made a material and salutary change in the Constitution established after the *coup d'etat*, when my friend observed, "Well, France seems to me between two great fortunes. Either we shall have more liberty at home, or we shall have the Rhine." What on earth do you want with the Rhine? I said. "Oh," he replied, "it would give us a frontier." "We in England," I rejoined, "do not think a river so valuable a frontier as you seem to do." "Of course not," he said; "God has given you the best of all frontiers—the sea—and you can well afford to despise a river-frontier; but, depend upon it, if France had the frontier of the Rhine, even without the fortresses on its banks, all Europe could not get across it."

Now, I appeal to M. Chevalier, is this merely the dream of an individual, or is it a fair expression of the feeling of

* M. Prevost-Paradol.

multitudes? Is it or is it not true that the acquisition of Savoy and Nice was the most popular act done by any French Government since the fall of Napoleon I.? We cannot allow M. Chevalier to lull us into security by the pleasant dreams which seem congenial to his nature. While ardently, passionately anxious to keep the peace with France, we must be prepared for the wretched alternative. I trust, however, that the many knots which have to be untied in Europe will be untied without war on the great scale, and that a better future than any one would venture confidently to predict awaits our generation. In the hopeful words of De Tocqueville, "I will not believe in the continuance of darkness, merely because I do not see the new sun which is destined to arise."

1862.

HARDLY any anniversary address has been delivered this year without some reference being made to the great change which has recently taken place in the Royal House of this country. I will not repeat what so many, who had better means than I of knowing the exact nature of the influence which was exercised over the industry and the policy of England by the late Prince Consort, have already said. But, as I happened to be at Coburg when the news of his death was flashed across Europe, I may be permitted to bear witness to the extent and intensity of the feeling which was there exhibited. It was not, however, only at Coburg, but in all Germany, that his loss was deeply deplored. His elder brother, whose name we here only know from its occurrence from time to time in the *Court Circular*, is a German popular leader of great influence. He, a sovereign prince, has cast in his lot with that party which is anxious to aggrandise the common fatherland at the expense of the sovereign

princes. All well-informed German politicians know that Prince Albert, who was the very soul of prudence, was a wise adviser to his generous and able, but dangerously impetuous brother.

The Parliamentary session, following close on the intense excitement of the "Trent" dispute, and darkened by a great sorrow, opened as tamely as can be imagined. A graceful speech of Lord Dufferin's, in the Upper House, a few observations by Lord Palmerston, rendered more important by the rumours, true or false, which had sometimes prevailed about divergencies between his views and those of the Prince, with regard to whom he spoke so feelingly, were the only events which for some time attracted the attention of the country. This state of things continued till Easter. Mr. Lowe made his statement about the Revised Code. There was a brisk discussion with regard to the bearings upon naval architecture of the duel between the Merrimac and the Monitor; and the unfounded aspersions which had been freely circulated against the kingdom of Italy were swept away in a debate of singular interest, which had the best possible effect throughout Europe. With, perhaps, this exception, the most important subject which came before the attention of Parliament was that of Colonial Military Expenditure, which was introduced by Mr. Arthur Mills, who presided over the Committee which took evidence on that matter last year. A resolution was carried, without a division, in favour of requiring the colonies which exercise the rights of self-government "to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security, and of assisting in their own external defence." This was an important step, and the speeches by which the resolution was supported, as well as the general indication of the feeling of the House, were even more important, as tending to show that the dissatisfaction caused by the existing relations between the mother country and its colonies were

becoming gradually stronger, and leading to the expectation that the day is not far distant when their connection by a looser political tie may come to be considered, even by the angriest critics of Professor Goldwin Smith, to be advantageous at once to them and to us.

I said that the debates on Italy and on colonial expenditure were of surpassing interest. Another subject was discussed which was of not less importance, and which presents even greater difficulties. On the 11th of March, Mr. Horsfall at length brought on his repeatedly postponed motion on international maritime law. It may be in your recollection that, at the Congress of Paris in 1856, we gave up the old English doctrine, which we had maintained in so many struggles, and accepted the maxim that "free ships make free goods, with the exception of contraband of war." The obvious result of the acceptance of this principle is, that henceforward, if we are engaged in war with any of the States which were parties to the Congress of Paris, or have since acceded to the declaration which embodied this principle of which I am speaking, such State will be able to carry on its commerce precisely as in peace, provided, that is to say, it employs not its own ships, but those of a neutral power. Now look at the bearing of this upon our own commerce. Suppose that we go to war with France, the result will be that a large quantity of our shipping will be left lying idle in harbour, because no merchant will think of embarking his goods in a vessel which has even a remote chance of being captured, if he can embark them in a vessel which cannot possibly be touched. If the war went on long enough, a great portion of our mercantile fleet would probably change hands, and pass into the possession of neutral owners, Danes, Dutch, or Americans, as the case might be. A large number of our sailors would probably also go into the service of foreign shipmasters, and, not impossibly, when peace was

concluded, we might find that various profitable trades had got into new channels, and were lost to Britain. These, and other considerations of a similar character, have, during the last few years, been exercising great influence upon the minds of many of our largest shipowners; and it was as their spokesman that Mr. Horsfall, member for the great mercantile city of Liverpool, stood forward in the House of Commons. The debate lasted two nights, and was conducted with great ability, and with a remarkable absence of party spirit. Three opinions were advanced and supported. One or two speakers, including the Conservative leader, maintained that we ought to throw over, or in some way get out of, the Declaration of Paris. This is obviously and utterly impossible, and does not require to be treated seriously. The Government defended the Declaration of Paris, but declined to commit themselves to any further steps in the same direction; and Lord Palmerston went so far as to say that, to abandon our right of capturing an enemy's mercantile marine, would be an act of political suicide. Mr Horsfall's supporters, on the other hand—who rose from all parts of the House, and who numbered in their ranks men of politics so utterly different as Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Bright, Mr. Massey and Mr. Baring—maintained that the time had come when the whole state of international maritime law ought to be taken into consideration, and the immunity of the peaceful trader secured against any infraction by the navies of hostile Powers. I listened with much attention to the debate. I have since re-read it very carefully in Hansard, and I am bound to say that my impression remains as it did on the 17th of March. That is to say, I think that the innovators had much the best of the argument. I do not mean that Government should have consented to Mr. Horsfall's motion. Statesmen who know how the sudden changes and combinations of events defy all human foresight may well pause, even although

their reason is convinced, before they give their sanction to a doctrine which is fraught with consequences so tremendous. There is truth in what Mr. Disraeli said, despite of the sneer which was conveyed by the turn which he gave to the expression. This is verily a greater question than the Reform Bill, or than any which has been recently discussed in Parliament, and it is for this reason that I now lay it before you, stating the bias of my opinion and not my conviction, for it is a subject which cannot be too much ventilated. Lord Russell was one of those who used some years ago the strongest language about the Declaration of Paris. Lord Palmerston freely accepts the responsibility of that declaration, and justifies it on all occasions. Soon after it, he announced, in a speech at Liverpool, opinions analogous to those expressed by Mr. Horsfall, but he has now recanted, and declares that the very course, which he had advocated in November 1856, would be an act of political suicide, thus laying himself open to the bitter taunts of Mr. Disraeli. Ay or no, however, this is not a question which can be decided by authority, and there was nothing in the speech of the Prime Minister to throw any light upon the causes of his change of opinion, with the exception of the point which he suggested about the difficulty of allowing the sailors of an enemy's mercantile marine to pass under the eyes of your hostile squadron to recruit the enemy's navy. And this is open to the obvious retort, that, if these sailors are allowed to navigate their vessels as usual, they will not be available for purposes of war. I may notice another suggestion of Lord Palmerston's, about the inconvenience which would result if we were unable to apply the threat of destroying its commerce in disputes with a small and remote but ill-disposed community, against which we could not operate in any other way. These and other points enforced by other speakers are worthy of consideration; but

on the whole, as I said before, I think the innovators have the best of the discussion.

Several writers before and since the debate have gone farther than any one ventured to go in the House, and have attacked the right of blockade. The most remarkable of these is Mr. Cobden, who, in a letter addressed to the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, discusses this amongst other questions. He points out that no other country contains half so many people as our own who are dependent upon foreign lands for the necessaries of life, or for the raw materials on which their labour is exercised; that of nearly all articles of food or produce which require manufacture carried over the sea, more than one half is destined for these islands; and he maintains that every interruption of commerce by the exercise of our right of blockade will henceforth inflict greater injury on us than perhaps even on our enemy. But this is not all. This very right of blockade is, he thinks, of little efficacy in very many cases. Our blockade of the Baltic ports, for example, in the Russian war, had the effect not of preventing the Russians sending us their tallow, but merely of diverting the course of the trade. In 1853 we received only £150 worth of tallow from Prussia; but in 1855, when the blockade had lasted long enough to enable the necessary changes in commercial relations to be made, we received from Prussia, acting as the go-between for Russia, the enormous amount of £1,837,300 worth, and other Russian exports reached us in similar ways. Again, Mr. Cobden directs our attention to the fact that we have very frequently been obliged, in the interest of our own manufacturers and merchants, to connive at the violation of our own blockades. So then we find ourselves in this position.—We refuse to entertain any proposals for the abolition of the right of blockading commercial ports, and by doing so we preclude ourselves from protesting against the interruption by the American

dispute of one of our most important industries. We do this with a view of keeping in our own hands a power which in many cases we shall not think of using, which in many other cases we could not use if we would—thanks to the great extension of the railway system—and which, finally, if we did use it, would not unfrequently damage ourselves even more than our enemy. I hope, when the subject of maritime law comes again before the House of Commons—and come again it must and will before long—that the debate will include this question of blockade, at which every speaker in the late discussion not unnaturally shied. I again repeat, however, that I feel most strongly the force of the recommendations which have been plentifully uttered, not to be too hasty in coming to a conclusion upon this great question, which must be kept far away from the sphere of party politics, and not too rashly decided either according to the apparent interest of this or that nation, or to notions of what is right and just in the abstract. To those who care to look farther into the subject, I would recommend a most convenient little manual on the *Law of War and Neutrality*, by Mr. Macqueen, published by those indefatigable friends of popular enlightenment, the Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh.

A remark was made in the course of this debate, I think by Mr. Liddell, that we should take care lest we put the supposed special interests of England in opposition to the interests of civilisation. These words seem to me profoundly true, and they convey a warning which is applicable to many other subjects. I remember a foreign philosopher, who shared to a certain extent the prejudice, so common on the Continent, as to the systematic selfishness of our policy, saying to me that he thought he saw indications of a change in this respect coming over English opinion, and he referred, I recollect, with great admiration, to a paper upon non-intervention, by Mr. John Stuart Mill. Perhaps this is so; but, without admitting that

we are really more selfish than other nations, I cannot help seeing that we not unfrequently do things which make us appear so.

The whole of our Turkish policy, which may soon lead to serious difference of opinion, has this character. I do not mean to say that it is necessarily wrong, but it has a very ugly look. That the Turkish power in Europe must ultimately succumb to the increasing strength of the Christian populations, which it holds under its sway, seems to me so self-evident a proposition, that I could wish that, while we support Turkey against all foreign foes, and do all the duties of a faithful ally, we should not contrive to give Europe the impression that we are accomplices in keeping down the Christian populations, for some interest of our own. We must take care, while we try to checkmate the intrigues which other nations are carrying on in the Eastern peninsula, that we do not enable any of them to retaliate by bringing to bear against us the public opinion of Liberal Europe.

We have all seen from the newspapers how the Eastern Question affects the mind of Garibaldi; and you may take Garibaldi, in spite of his occasional aberrations, as a very fair representative of that tremendous power which, for want of a better name, we call "The Revolution." Now, remember that the Bonaparte family are, at this moment, at once the fuglemen of order, and the heads of the Revolution on the Continent. Not the weakest arm of the Emperor of the French is his connection with the unquiet spirits who swarm in half the capitals of Europe. Do not suppose that he means to neglect, if circumstances permit, so good a field of fame as the Turkish Empire, and one so well fitted to flatter the historical susceptibilities of France. "When the Turk falls," he said some years ago to a great capitalist, who complained of the agitation into which the money market had been thrown by the Italian war, "you will see greater changes than these."

Let us take care that, if we have to oppose his policy in the East, it may be because we see it distinctly to be pernicious, not because we are already committed to a particular course by the prejudice or the pride of any statesman, however worthy of our general support and confidence.

The Easter recess passed tranquilly, and Parliament re-assembled as quietly as it had separated. The dispute about the Revised Code was arranged by a compromise. A Commission was appointed to investigate the extremely important subject of the Patent Laws, and the question of the Abolition of Purchase in the Army was advanced by a forcible speech from Lord Stanley. A discussion took place upon Harbours of Refuge, with the result which was to be feared in the present state of our finances. The most interesting question, however, which occupied the attention of the House was that of the National Expenditure, which was brought on by Mr. Stansfeld on the 3d of June. The motion of the eloquent member for Halifax derived its chief interest from the fact that, for some time previously Mr. Disraeli had been making overtures to a section of the Liberal party—overtures to which, it was understood, some few were not unwilling to respond. On the 8th May the member for Buckinghamshire opened fire upon the whole foreign policy of the Government. Her Majesty's Ministers were, in his opinion, spending vast sums of money unnecessarily, for the purpose of maintaining our influence in the Councils of Europe. We were unduly suspicious of France. It was wrong to protest against the French policy in Southern Italy. It was wrong to murmur at the occupation of Rome. The moral power which we presumed to exercise meant "warlike armaments in time of peace, garrisons doubled and trebled, and squadrons turned into fleets." The exercise of that power for but a few years would lead to war, and we should enter upon war with an exhausted Treasury and crippled resources. France was not the old France, not even

the France of 1858. Her military ardour was satiated, and we had nothing now to do but to act in accordance with her, or, in other words, to follow her lead. On the 19th May Mr. Disraeli returned to this subject, and further enforced it in a long speech, so that the ground was well prepared for the attempt which was made on the 3d of June to embarrass the Government by forcing upon them an amendment in lieu of the amendment by which Lord Palmerston proposed to meet the motion of Mr. Stansfeld. That attempt was frustrated, partly by the tact of the First Minister, who declared that he would consider it as a question of confidence, and partly by the moderation of some of the Conservatives; and the clouds, which had for a moment gathered somewhat thickly over the Parliamentary firmament, rapidly passed away.

Towards the end of the session there were several sharp passages of arms between Lord Palmerston and Mr. Cobden, and on the 1st of August, in a very thin house, they engaged in a regular single combat. There they stood unreconciled and irreconcilable, the representatives of two widely different epochs, and of two widely different types of English life. The one, trained in the elegant but superficial culture which was usual amongst the young men of his position in life at the beginning of this century, full of pluck, full of intelligence, but disinclined, alike by the character of his mind and by the habits of official life, from indulging in political speculation, or pursuing long trains of thought; yet yielding to no man in application, in the quickness of his judgment, in knowledge of a statesman's business, and in the power of enlisting the support of what has been so truly called "that floating mass which in all countries and in all times has always decided all questions." The other derived from nature finer powers of mind, but many years passed away before he could employ his great abilities in a field sufficiently wide for them, and he has never had the official training which is perhaps absolutely

necessary to turn even the ablest politician into a statesman. There he stood, an admirable representative of the best section of the class to which he belongs, full of large and philanthropic hopes, and full of confidence in his power to realise them, yet wanting in pliability of mind, and deficient in that early and systematic culture which prevents a man becoming the slave of one idea.* Of the debate I will say little. The opinion of the country was sufficiently clearly pronounced upon it. The champion of the necessary and the possible came off victorious, but his opponent said much that was true, and, if the Admiralty does not mend its ways, he may some time earlier in a session make a more dangerous onslaught.

Of course, we all wish for economy. Which of us does not feel the immensity of our present taxation? Which of us does not sicken over the vast sums which are spent on the Army and Navy? but which of us, if he had had the responsibility of protecting this great country, would have made the estimates of 1862 very materially lower? I wish I even saw a fair prospect of their soon becoming permanently lower, unless indeed the too pleasant dream of a general partial disarmament could be realised—and, after all, why should it be so impossible? The whole state of Europe, while it is not such as to inspire any immediate alarm, is troubled and dangerous. Germany, said Mr. Disraeli in the beginning of summer, was never more tranquil. Mr. Disraeli, I venture to say, has not often been more mistaken. Germany is divided by the same passions which as nearly as possible brought about a collision between Austria and Prussia in 1850. I have much hope of a peaceful solution of the differences in that country; but those who know the intense bitterness with

* These words do not express my more matured opinion about Mr. Cobden; but I learned to appreciate that remarkable man more justly than I did in 1862 at a somewhat later period—thanks chiefly to the conversation and writings of his most distinguished disciple—Sir Louis Mallet.

which some of the governments, as, for instance, that of Hanover, are regarded by their subjects—those who know how fiercely Bavaria and several other States would oppose the realisation of the projects for German unity which are popular in the North—those who know the importance which Austria attaches to her traditional supremacy, will hardly indulge in too confident expectations.

Then we have that eternal Schleswig-Holstein question getting more embittered every day, and with this additional complication, that there seems every probability of an amicable arrangement for an eventual union between Denmark and Sweden, so that the forces which may come into conflict will not be only Denmark and Germany, but Germany and the whole of Scandinavia.

It will be many and many a year before we are secure that some trifling cause may not bring on a quarrel with either the Northern States of America, or that tremendous power which is now perhaps growing up in the South, and which will, if it succeed in securing its independence, soon begin to covet our West India Islands. You know too well what I think of our relations with France for me to say much upon that subject. Mr. Cobden would tell us, no doubt, that the feelings with regard to England which constantly find vent in the press of France are those of vulgar prejudice; but a vulgar prejudice which actuates so many of the scholars, the orators, and the warriors of a great country, as well as the mass of its population, is quite as likely to influence its conduct as reason and common sense.

1863.

GENTLEMEN—I can still congratulate you, as I did two years ago, upon the fact that the reins of power are in the hands of a Liberal Government, but I do so with less satisfaction than

I felt then, because the advantages which we have derived from those who at present rule us, have for some time past been rather of a negative, than of a positive kind. We have had no calamities and no disgraces. We have had no Cagliari affair, no Charles *et* Georges affair. We have made no step backward, either in our internal or external policy. We have been spared in the one the weakness of Lord Malmesbury, and in the other the "frothy common places" of his political chief.* This is something to say, though I had hoped to say more. Yet allowances must be made for the feverish state in which we have been kept by our relations with America, for the check which liberal aspirations have received in some quarters from what has occurred there, and for the character of Lord Palmerston, to whom the nation seems to have made up its mind that its destinies shall be confided, until the curtain falls upon his eventful history.

About the internal policy of Her Majesty's Ministers during the past session, there is really so little to be said, that I think I may save you time by omitting all reference to it. I, too, will follow in this matter the advice of Lord Melbourne, which seems to have governed their actions—"Can't you let it alone?"

If we turn from the internal to the external policy of the Government, and confine our views to the possible rather than to the desirable, we shall find more to admire. Their whole conduct with reference to America has been worthy of praise, and it is only necessary to point to the attacks which have been made upon them, alike by the partisans of the South and of the North, to show how well they have understood the duties of neutrality.

Not less satisfactory has been their management of the Greek Question—although one could have wished that it had been possible to place upon the throne of the Hellenes some man

* The late Lord Derby.

of tried capacity, rather than a young and unknown member of the Royal caste; that, in short, the precedent of Bernadotte, rather than of Otho, should have been followed, where so much depends upon it. For, in the good government and prosperity of Greece is involved not only the happiness of a people which has been hardly dealt with, but the beginning of the end of the great Eastern Question. The proposed cession of the Ionian Islands seemed likely at one time to give occasion for a move on the part of the leaders of the Opposition, but they soon saw that the country was well pleased with the prospect of getting rid of a troublesome dependency. The Government certainly deserves credit for its conduct in this matter, for however clear it may be that the real strength of a country is not to be measured by the number of square miles over which its flag flies, nor even by the number of "strong places which it occupies upon the routes of commerce," the rulers of a state shrink alike from the responsibility of giving up territory, and from the loss of patronage which results from doing so. I hope the Ionian Islands will be by no means the last ring of Polycrates which Britain will fling away, not to propitiate the destinies, but from sober calculations. It is desirable that this class of questions should be discussed as much as possible, and that public opinion with regard to them may ripen as soon as may be, for surely, as has been said, "we are drifting and drifting towards a dangerous shore."

In the long and difficult negotiations which have been carried on about Poland, I see as yet nothing to find fault with. Ministers would assuredly not have been supported by the country in a more decidedly warlike policy. I admit that, if all the Powers have asked from Russia were granted by her, the Polish Question would be far from being settled; but I have yet to learn that that question is susceptible of any really satisfactory solution. If the plan of the Marquis Wielopolski be carried out, Poland will be Russianised. If,

on the other hand, the plan of the leaders of the insurrection succeeds, Europe will see a new state stretching nearly from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and laying claim to large portions both of Austria and Prussia. I ask, is there any reason to suppose this possible? And if it were possible, turn to the pages of even a historian so favourable to Poland as Rulhiere. Is that the state of things in order to bring back which it is worth while to engage in a colossal war? Let any man put himself in the place of the Emperor Alexander, and say what he would do. I know not what he can do in this Polish imbroglio, except to allow himself to be borne along by the stream of events, and to re-echo the words of Lord Palmerston —the most remarkable words, by the way, which I ever heard him utter—"There is no such calamity as to be born to a heritage of triumphant wrong."

On the only occasion on which there was an opportunity for making any very elaborate announcement of their Italian policy, both the Premier and the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke strongly. "If," said Mr. Gladstone, "the country has made up its mind to any one thing on earth, it has made up its mind to this, that Italy ought to be one, and that Italy ought to be free." The debate in which those remarkable words were uttered was a very interesting one—interesting not less from the merit of several of the speeches which were delivered, than from the dissensions in the ranks of the Tory party which it unmasked. Interesting as it was, however, I wish it may be the last Italian discussion which we may have for some time, although, I fear, it is too much to hope that the calumnies which have been so freely circulated against the new kingdom and its rulers may be buried once for all in the grave of Lord Normanby. Italy has now a Parliament of her own, in which all those deputies who have any complaints to make against the administration of justice in any of her provinces can freely speak. Members of the British Parliament step as much out

of their province when they discuss the internal affairs of Victor Emmanuel's kingdom, as members of the Italian Parliament would do if they moved resolutions about any of our internal abuses—say, for example, the Irish Church. That the affairs of Italy will once again, and that ere very long, become of European interest is hardly doubtful. I am not alluding to the Roman question. I am alluding to the question of Venetia, or, more properly speaking, the question of the Quadrilateral. Yes, it is but too true the Quadrilateral is, as has been well remarked, the secret of Italy. As long as Austria retains that strategic position, equally powerful for attack and defence, so long will Italy be obliged to keep up an enormous army, and to incur expenses which must continually increase the disorder of the finances. Ere long Victor Emmanuel will be forced to go to war whether he likes it or not. Austria, at length alive to the detestation which she has excited in all free countries by her stolid and brutal tyranny at home and abroad, is making great efforts to improve her system of government. She is now, as a few politicians are ever reminding us, a constitutional country. True enough, but her repentance has come too late, and the arguments of those who tell us that the Quadrilateral is as necessary to her safety as the Channel to ours, fall upon deaf ears. When Benedek, the hero whose praises are so hymned by our philo-Austrians, comes to fight it out with Italy, under the guns of Verona, the good wishes of England will hardly, I think, be with the House of Hapsburg.

Whatever importance belongs to the past session was given to it, not by the action of Government, but by that of private members. A feeling has been for some time growing and extending itself in the ranks of the Liberal party, that, although it may be well that things should be as they are during the lifetime of Lord Palmerston, a crisis must arrive soon after his death, against which it is right to be prepared. It will not be

the declining strength of Earl Russell which will form the bond of union for the Liberal party. We must take up the questions which are really stirring to its depths the intellect of the country, if we are to be anything else than a worse kind of Tories, led by men of somewhat less honesty and somewhat more experience.

Now, what are these questions which are to the best spirits in the nation all, and more than all, that the great politico-economical questions which succeeded the passing of the Reform Bill were to the generation which was then beginning to influence public affairs? They are questions which all run up to one source, and that is the fundamental principles of religious liberty. The feeling that, if we are to have a political future at all, it must be in connection with these questions, seems to have influenced many minds during the last year's recess, for the session saw men who had no connection with each other, and belonged to different sections of the party, step forward with proposals all tending in the same direction.

The most important of these were Mr. Buxton's motion directed against the Act of Uniformity, and Mr. Dillwyn's motion directed against the Irish Church. The Act of Uniformity, as many of you are aware, was a part of the same evil policy which was enforced by its authors upon this side of the Tweed by the dragoons of Dalzell and Claverhouse, and by the tortures of the Privy Council. The first result of the same policy in England was the loss to the Established Church of some two thousand ministers, whose opinions may be generally described as those of the English dissenting sects, and of the various Presbyterian bodies amongst ourselves. Great and wide-spread discontent was the consequence, and an Act, which would have done away with many of the grievances complained of, very nearly passed the Legislature soon after the Revolution of 1688, but was prevented passing by the very peculiar

state of parties at that period, as you will find set forth in much detail, and with great clearness, in Macaulay's *History of England.* Since that day no movement has been commenced against the Act of Uniformity with so much hope of success as that of this session, because now not only are the great majority of really Liberal politicians in favour of a change, but not a few Conservatives are convinced that it must soon come, while the flower of the intelligence of the English clergy is ready to lend its aid to its own deliverance.

The gigantic grievance of the Irish Establishment—the only grievance in the United Kingdom which can be classed with the great political grievances which still exist in various parts of the Continent, and from time to time excite the indignant sympathy of England—was, as some of you may recollect, formerly a favourite topic with the Liberal party. For some years circumstances have thrown it into the shade. But although it has been in the shade, it has been active for evil, still eating like a canker into the heart of our national strength, and doing more than anything else to make Ireland a standing menace—the ready ally of our bitterest foes. There is no reform which has not yet been carried out, in favour of which so vast a "cloud of witnesses" can be collected. Lord Palmerston and Mr. Disraeli, Lord Macaulay and Sir Edward Lytton, Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Grote, Sidney Smith and Lord Melbourne, Lord Jeffrey and Earl Russell, have all pronounced against this leviathan injustice. In fact, the difficulty is to find the names of eminent politicians who have *not* recorded their abhorrence of it in strong terms. Even the late Sir Robert Peel is said to have remarked, when some foolish person spoke of the Irish Church as an engine for spreading Protestantism—"Can you show a balance of 200 converts in the last 200 years?" The men who are at the head of affairs will not, however, take up this great question, because they

shrink very naturally from encountering storms at their advanced period of life. That which is prudence and wisdom in old age may, however, be cowardice in youth. Anyhow, it was not by calculating too closely the risks of defeat, that the Liberal party carried the Reform Bill or the Repeal of the Corn Laws, to say nothing of greater successes of longer date. There are times to remember the proverb, "Faint heart never won fair lady." If we are to keep our proper place among the nations, Ireland *must* be pacified. It is madness to wait till we have an American or a French war before we do her justice. Supposing, for a moment, that James II. had carried out his plans, and re-established Roman Catholicism in Great Britain, should we in Scotland have consented to the Union, except at the sword's point? Should we not have been as much disaffected as Poland, if a hostile Church had been supported in our borders by foreign bayonets? In these questions, and all others of similar character, which were discussed in Parliament last session, I took a warm interest, and as active a part as circumstances permitted. I shall continue to do so, not only because I have the strongest possible feeling that it is in this direction that more progress can be made, in the immediate future, than in any other—not only because I feel that free thought is as good a thing as free trade, and as necessary to this kingdom, but, above all, because I am a Scotchman.

No one can watch with an impartial spirit the progress of European opinion, without seeing that, thanks partly to the hasty generalisations of certain writers, and thanks still more to the bigotry of some noisy men, Scotland is obtaining a character for narrow-mindedness which I venture to think she ill deserves. If I at all understand my countrymen, they are above all things an intellectual and a logical people. Because they were above all things intellectual and logical, they accepted with enthusiasm the first well-reasoned and intelligible

system which was put before them in the days of the Reformation, for the Roman Catholic system never turned its logical and intellectual side towards the ordinary believer. But because the Scottish people very generally accepted the Calvinistic system, and because that system was connected with a very stern rule of life, is "touch not, taste not, handle not," to be dinned for ever in our ears as if we had taken it for our national motto? We know what all the noise and scolding means, and go on our way quietly; but on the other side of the border and over the sea, they don't understand it, and fancy that this active-minded country of ours is a sort of Protestant Spain. It is high time that some practical protest should be made against such notions as this. The Scottish people are a thinking people—a people to be led by free speech and fair argument. I am sure they will support those members who determine that nothing done or omitted by them shall give occasion to men to say that the Scotchman is not as good a friend to religious as to civil liberty.

And, therefore, if next session the Scotch Episcopal body comes to Parliament, as I understand it is likely to do, and says, "It is very hard that our clergy should have been excluded from preferment, in England, thanks only to the caprice of Lord Thurlow, whose religious character will not bear too much inspection;"—if, I say, the Scotch Episcopal body comes to Parliament with this complaint, and says that there is a fear of some opposition from those persons in England who consider it to incline more to what they call, beyond the Tweed, the 'High Church,' than what they call the 'Low Church' party—I answer that, whether it does or does not do so is not my affair. I shall answer that, in my capacity as member of the Legislature, it is my duty to see only a number of peaceable well-conducted British subjects, who suffer under a disability which weighs very hardly upon many of them, and that whatever I can do for them I will do with all my heart.

And, therefore, if the Established Church of Scotland, and the Free Church, and the United Presbyterians, come to Scotland next session, as they did last session, speaking by the mouth of Mr. Bouverie, and say—"An increasing number of parents attached to the three Presbyterian churches of Scotland are desirous of obtaining for their children the great advantages of education at Oxford and Cambridge, and a share of those large emoluments by which learning is rewarded in these ancient and magnificent universities: We are met, however, by this difficuty; no young man at Cambridge can get a fellowship unless he signs a declaration of conformity with the Church of England: At Oxford, not only can he not get a fellowship, but he cannot even take the degree of M.A.! Now, we are anxious to do what we can for our children, but we wish them to bring their learning and accomplishments to the service of the communions to which we respectively belong. We do not wish them to join the Church of England. Cannot Parliament help us?" If these churches do this, as I have no doubt they will, I will answer—Nine-tenths of the best and ablest members of the Church of England, connected with the Universities, are just as anxious to admit your sons to fellowships and every other privilege as you can be, quite irrespective of creeds. Only give us your support by petitions and public meetings. In time we shall prevail, and do all you can desire.

If, again, the Roman Catholics come to Parliament with any grievance as palpable, I shall answer—To me, in my capacity of member of the Legislature, it is a matter of no moment whether your tenets and your worship are or are not in accordance with right reason. You have a perfect right to serve God as you please, on your own responsibility, like all the rest of us. And just because you are, in England and Scotland at least, very weak, I shall be the more scrupulously anxious to see you obtain justice. I am very sure that, if you

were supreme in this country, most of you would soon give up talking of toleration, and begin talking of "unity and the true faith." Luckily, however, you are not supreme, and never will be, and we Protestants don't mean any longer to imitate those old bad habits which we learned from you, but which are now denounced as energetically, if not as logically, by the best of your co-religionists as they are by the best of ours. You shall have the amplest toleration and the most perfect equality before the law. Think as you please, speak as you please, write as you please. Convert us, if you can. We are, with all due respect to you, not at all afraid.

I am particularly glad to have an opportunity of expressing these sentiments here, and now, because within the last few weeks similar views have been enunciated by one standing at the opposite pole of opinion—I mean the great Roman Catholic orator, M. de Montalembert. Some of you may not be aware that we have a closer connection with that illustrious inheritor of the tradition of French eloquence than would at first sight appear, for by the mother's side he comes of the good stock of the Forbeses of Donside, and his immediate ancestor once held the property of Corsindae, which is within a drive of Kintore and Inverurie. His speech at Malines has only reached me in fragments, and some of the fragments are not quite consistent with others; but the fact that in the city which has been justly called the "Rome of Flanders" he should have ventured, amidst the applause of many hundreds, who hailed him as the Son of the Crusaders, to utter such words as these, is surely a most noticeable circumstance:—

"Without mental reservation, and without hesitation, I declare myself, in the interest of Catholicism itself, an upholder of liberty of conscience. I frankly accept all its consequences—all those which public morality does not reprobate, and which equity commands. This leads me to a delicate

but essential question. I will attack it directly, because in all discussions of this nature I have always recognised the necessity of anticipating an uneasiness which is too natural and often very sincere in the adversaries of the liberty of Catholics. Can one at the present day demand liberty for truth; that is to say, for oneself (since every one, if he be sincere, believes himself a follower of the truth), and refuse it to error—that is to say, to those who do not think as we do? I distinctly reply, 'No.' . . . The faggots lighted by a Catholic hand inspire me with as much horror as the scaffolds on which the Protestants immolated so many martyrs. The gag forced into the mouth of whomsoever lifts up his voice with a pure heart to preach his faith—that gag I feel between my own lips, and I shudder with pain. . . . The Spanish Inquisition saying to the heretic, 'The truth, or death,' is as odious to me as the French terrorist saying to my grandfather, 'Liberty, fraternity, or death!' The human conscience has the right to insist that those hideous alternatives shall never again be presented to it."

Realise who the man is who spoke these noble words. He is not a lukewarm Catholic. He is an Ultramontane of the Ultramontanes. The See of Peter has no more devoted son; and are we, the liberals of Protestant and intellectual Scotland, to be less liberal than he? The commercial men of this country have come at length to know that commerce has nothing to ask from Government except to be let alone. When will religious men throughout the world learn that religion flourishes best where it is least trammelled by the dangerous protection of statesmen? Who is to be the Adam Smith of the Piety of Nations? Who are to be the Brights and Cobdens of unfettered Thought? We are passing, as I have said, to a period in which questions of religious liberty will have unusual prominence; but, as the Liberal party triumphs on each successive question, one more subject will be removed from the

sphere of politics, one more step will be made towards that state of things which would long ago have come about if men would only have obeyed the sublime precept—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

1864.

GENTLEMEN—The uneventful history of last session has been so often told that I will not try your patience by repeating its details.

I suppose there can be little doubt that, if it is remembered at all twenty years hence, it will only be remembered for the answer which it gave to the question—Shall or shall not England take part in the struggle between Germany and Denmark? The answer which it gave to that question at last was a very decisive one, but it was long of coming, and this delay and the consequent uncertainty gave to the proceedings of this year's Parliament whatever interest they possessed. That interest would have been less than it was, if the facts which oozed out later had been known when the Houses assembled, and the country had been aware that the war section of the Cabinet had already in the month of January been encountered and overthrown. Few, however, knew this, and, more especially upon the Continent, the meeting of the Legislature was looked forward to with much anxiety. I happened to be in Paris in the first days in February, and came over in the full belief that some important decision would be come to; or at least that a distinct declaration of policy would be made at the very commencement of our labours. The question which seemed to have brought us to the verge of hostilities—for the papers, as you will recollect, were at the time full of the most sinister rumours—was one in which I, thanks

to an accident, had for many years had an interest, and on which I had formed a very decided opinion. I was accordingly very much pleased when the fortunate chance of catching the Speaker's eye very early on the evening of our day of meeting enabled me to state the reasons which had led me to feel, not with Denmark, nor with Austria, nor with the Prussian Government, but with the great German Liberal party, with whose political aspirations I have the strongest possible sympathy, and in whose ultimate triumph, involving, as it will, the establishment of a free, powerful, and peaceful State in the centre of Europe, I have so much confidence, that I can afford to look with considerable equanimity on its repeated partial failures and defeats.

The Schleswig-Holstein question, as it presented itself in the middle of last November, reminds one of nothing so much as of the story in the "Arabian Nights," where a feeble column of smoke rapidly assumed the proportions and the power of a gigantic and terrible monster, so suddenly did it pass from being a subject for silly political jokes into a question of the first magnitude. It might be looked upon in three aspects. First, as a question of law; secondly, as a question of popular right; and thirdly, as a question of public policy. The legal question was extremely difficult and involved. It is just as easy to understand how people could conscientiously take different views of it, as it is to understand how two equally able and equally honourable advocates may give a diametrically opposite opinion upon any question of private right. I need not go back on that now; it has become, or soon will have become, a mere historical inquiry, lying out of the path of the practical politician; and I am the less called upon to do so, as I have already said I had an opportunity of going fully into its complicated details before the session was many hours old, and when the views which I expressed had even fewer adherents than they have now. Looked at in its

second aspect, the question between Denmark and the Duchies is one of enduring interest; and first let me say that I should have been very glad if the question had never arisen, and if the Germans of Schleswig-Holstein and the Scandinavians of Denmark proper had lived as quietly together as do the Welsh and English.

What was it, however, that fanned the disputed question of legal right into a flame, and made these neighbours hate each other? It was the passion for nationality, which became identified, both in Denmark proper and in the Duchies, with the desire for Constitutional Government, so that the Liberals of Copenhagen became wild with the desire thoroughly to Danise Schleswig, and the Liberals of Kiel became equally wild with the desire to Germanise Schleswig. Both parties, Eider Danes and Schleswig-Holsteiners, set their hearts upon objects to which they had, when they began the contest, no right to aspire. It would, no doubt, have tended to make the Schleswig-Holstein cause far more popular in this country if the Duchies had been left to write and to fight for themselves against Denmark from 1846 up to the present hour, unassisted by Germany. Then we should all have seen that their case was simply a case of the kind which we know so well, the case of an oppressed nationality, like that of the Italians in Venetia, or of the Magyars in Hungary. When, however, first the Publicists, and then the soldiers of Germany, took up the matter, when we saw that, foremost amongst the literary crusaders who rushed to the rescue of Schleswig-Holstein, was that very Radowitz, whose somewhat mystical and visionary genius was not incorrectly supposed to be more powerful than any other influence in the counsels of the monarch who could bring the biggest battalions to enforce the conclusions of his logic, and when we saw, early in 1848, those battalions marching towards the Eider, we not unnaturally forgot who were the original parties to the quarrel, and saw, in what was

really a struggle between the two weak Duchies on the one hand, and the whole Scandinavian part of Denmark on the other; an aggression by Great Germany upon the little kingdom which held the keys of the Sound. The inhabitants of the Duchies find it very difficult to understand how free England should have excepted them from the sympathies which she ever gives to those who are oppressed, but the denial of English sympathies was the price which they paid for the assistance of their big brothers from the other side of the Elbe.

We must, however, make up our minds, if this nationality cry, which is beginning to sound so loudly in Europe, becomes still louder, to see it produce not only results which are pleasing to us, like the emancipation of Italy from the yoke of the stranger, but also results which may be very distasteful to many. For instance, it is quite possible that we may see, not to-day or to-morrow, but before very long, our old ally and protégé, the State which of all European States has, I suppose, tried to copy our constitution, with its King, House of Lords and Commons, most nearly—I mean, of course, Portugal—joined either under the same Sovereign or in a close Federative Union with Spain. Again, we must expect to see Prussia, which is at present so very unpopular amongst us, swallowing up a great many of her smaller neighbours—Hanover and Brunswick included. Of course it will only have the power to absorb into itself these and other States, if it is aided by the good-will of the great majority among their inhabitants; but there will always be persons whose interests will be injured by such a change as this, and who will appeal loudly to us against Prussian ambition, and expect us to interfere.

But to return to the question of nationalities. I agree with their partisans in believing that Europe will gradually be re-arranged according to natural affinities, which will over-

ride mere arbitrary arrangements made either for the advantage of particular dynasties, or for the maintenance of the balance of power; but I have never been able to take the next step, and to say, with the large and powerful party which has brought about nearly all the recent great changes in Europe, "This doctrine of nationalities is a sort of gospel." I quite admit that, in the words of one of the most remarkable advocates of these ideas, "Nothing is more natural than that those who resemble each other should wish to assemble together;" but the accidents of our history have made me, like most men in this country, think so much more of being well governed than of being governed by men of my own race, that I watched the raising of question after question of this sort with great regret. Of what avail, however, is it to regret that things should take their inevitable course? I can quite understand any one being impatient with the advocates of nationality; but when we realise the fact that the extraordinary events which we have witnessed in Italy may, humanly speaking, be traced to the fact of the conviction of this idea of nationality being the great want of the time, coming into the mind of a mere boy when a prisoner in the fortress of Savona—I allude of course to Mazzini—I think that, whatever may be the duties of Continental Statesmen with regard to each of these questions as they arise, we in England should take extremely good care that no feelings of favour or dislike towards one party or the other should induce us either to oppose or to precipitate any of the natural disruptions or reconstructions which are taking place, or are about to take place, upon the Continent. We have work enough in our hands, as I ventured to say on a former occasion, without attempting to galvanise dead nations, or to prevent new ones rising into life.

So much for the Schleswig-Holstein question, looked at as one of popular rights. Now look at it as one of public policy.

What interest had England, what interest had any State in Europe, except perhaps Russia, in preventing the changes which have this year taken place in the respective boundaries of Germany and Denmark? How was it in the Napoleonic wars? Was it a fortunate thing for England or for the cause of humanity, that, thanks to the assistance of Denmark, the great conqueror was able to turn the flank of Germany? I sympathise only imperfectly with those politicians who are always pointing to France and crying "Wolf, wolf!" but it would be blind indeed not to see that, while Germany never can be dangerous to this country, France may at any moment become a most formidable enemy. Can I, therefore, regret that a great fortress like Rendsburg should be taken out of the keeping of a weak military power, and put into the keeping of a power which must, in the nature of things, be our ally in any struggle into which this country is likely to be brought, if ever again the demon of conquest, which now slumbers with one eye open, awakes in the heart of the French people?

The natural result of what has taken place this year will be—first, that the aspirations for a union of a large part of Germany round a truly constitutional Prussia, as soon as that much-to-be-desired phenomenon appears, will receive an impulse; secondly, that the aspirations for the union, more or less close, of the whole of Scandinavia, will receive an impulse. I know that this last has always been rather a Swedish than a Danish idea, but I cannot help thinking that recent events will make it more popular in Denmark. Now, these two unions could hurt no one except Russia, and they will not in the slightest degree hurt Russia, unless that great empire turns away once more from pursuing the path which must inevitably lead her to a splendid position in the world, to chase that vain phantom of a European dictatorship, which made Nicholas the curse of his fellow-creatures, and at last led him into that frightful complication of calamities which darkened his death-

bed. The sympathies of many good Liberals in this country wandered off into the wrong camp when they saw Bismarck and Rechberg fraternising. They did not perceive that these men took the line they did, because they knew that, on this one question, the Liberal party in the Germanic Confederation was so overwhelmingly strong that they could not for one instant stand up against it. Wise, therefore, in their generation, they ran with the hounds, or, if you please, as the French would say, they howled with the wolves.

If we may descend from great politics to little politics, the Austrian and Prussian Cabinets behaved exactly as some of the leaders of London society did with reference to Garibaldi's reception. They put themselves at the head of the movement, in order that, in case it seemed likely to take a turn which they did not like, they might quietly give it a direction more in conformity with their wishes. And now that I am led to speak of the Garibaldi fever, into which London was thrown in the spring, and which seemed at one moment about to spread over the whole face of the country, I may observe in passing that I do not think the extraordinary enthusiasm which was exhibited is at all sufficiently explained by referring either to the noble character of the person who was the object of it, nor to the exceptional exploits which he had performed. These of course had their share; but there was more in it than that. I think it ought to remind even Conservative statesmen of the same truths which 1848 proclaimed so loudly, namely, that, under the surface of European, nay even of English politics, there are vague aspirations and desires working, which it is well not entirely to ignore. The crowds in the streets of London that day made me think of those striking words of Mr. Carlyle in his Latter Day Pamphlets:—

"Democracy, sure enough, is here; one knows not how long it will keep hidden under ground, even in Russia, and

here in England, though we object to it resolutely in the form of street barricades and insurrectionary pikes, and decidedly will not open doors to it on those terms, the tramp of its million feet is on all streets and thoroughfares, the sound of its bewildered thousandfold voice is in all writings and speakings, in all thinkings and modes and activities of men; the soul that does not now with hope or terror discern it, is not the one we address on this occasion."

There are politicians, and Liberal politicians too, who seem to forget that there ever was a year 1848, or if they don't quite forget it, they think that many of its most characteristic events were mere accidents, not symptoms of mighty forces working below our feet. That is not my view. That is not the impression which I brought back some months ago even from the country in Europe which is generally supposed to be that in which the popular element is least active. Elsewhere I have tried to point out that he will be able to form but a poor guess as to the future of Russia who does not allow a large share in moulding that future to the democratic element.

And that leads me to think of the unhappy land whose affairs occupied us so much in the session of 1863. The beginning of the spring proved that my anticipations in the winter were but too correct, and that the Polish insurrection of last year was but one more page added to the bloody record of fruitless revolutions. It remains to be seen whether the steps recently taken by the Russian Government, with a view of winning over the peasantry to its side, will succeed. If they do, that will be at length *Finis Poloniæ* in a political sense; but if, as is quite possible, they do not succeed, and if the upper and middle classes, who have made a positive science of hatred to the Russians, do not alter their views, we shall see, I have no doubt, another Polish insurrection, which may or may not be successful, who can say? But I am straying into the region of what has been well called telescopic politics,

and I will add nothing more on this subject, except to express a hope that, if ever another insurrection breaks out, it will not break out until it is certain to be successful, for nothing can be more unfortunate, both for Russia and for Poland, than such scenes as have occurred during the last two years, ending in absolutely no sure gain to either party; in fact, leaving the question very much where it stood. I trust, too, that before it does break out, we may have so disengaged ourselves from diplomatic engagements to either party, that no voice of any importance may be raised amongst us calling upon the Government to spend English blood in a cause which, if it ever is to be won, must be won by the hands and the heads of Poland's own children.

Those who are ever urging us to be the procurators-fiscal of Europe do not, I think, take a very correct view even of our own position. Unquestionably, we are at this moment the most powerful nation in the world, but our power is cosmopolitan, not specially European. We are by no means, for mere European purposes, so powerful as France, and the progress of railways upon the Continent is tending to make us even less powerful than we are. For example, when the projected Moscow and Sebastopol line is completed, we shall be infinitely less able to attack Russia upon her own territory than we were in 1854; and what is true of Russia is true of every part of Europe, with the exception of its insular or semi-insular portions. More than ever, if we are to do great things by material force in this continent, we have need of allies, and yet the whole tendency of public opinion is against the old-fashioned alliances which formed so important a part of our history from the revolution of 1688 up to 1815.

We are entering on a period of co-operations, not of alliances, of diplomatic engagements made for short periods, and for clearly-defined objects; and he would do a good deed to the country, who, after collecting together in one view our

treaty relations in Europe, were to point out how many of these have become impossible of execution or obsolete; how many are contrary to the best interests of humanity, and how many are worthy of being retained and acted upon. It is startling to look even at that Treaty of yesterday, the Treaty of Vienna, and to see how completely circumstances have torn it into shreds.

You will remember the proposal of a Congress which was made a year ago by the Emperor of the French. Our Government declined the proposal, I have no doubt rightly, for things were not ripe for it. But we are moving in that direction, and I sincerely trust that, within the next five-and-twenty years, we may see a complete revision of the treaty engagements of Europe, combined with a solemn recognition, by an international pact, of those great doctrines of international law to which most civilised nations adhere, but which have never been made so binding and effective that some of them may not be broken through by a powerful Government.

I have said that we are the greatest cosmopolitan power, but our very greatness in other continents is a source of weakness in this. I was talking a few months ago with a very intelligent native of India, who was trying to impress upon me how far from improbable it was that the military mutiny of 1857 would be outdone during the lifetime of the present generation by a great national uprising. "I watched," he said, "with deep interest to see whether you would become involved in the struggle between Denmark and Germany, and, believe me, that many thousand less friendly eyes, both of Hindoos and Mahomedans, were doing the same throughout your Eastern dominions. You think," he said, "that your railways and telegraphs have enormously increased your power in India, and so undoubtedly they have, but they have also increased in a much greater degree the power of your

enemies. As education advances amongst them, these railways and telegraphs will give them just what they wanted—an unlimited power of combination. They will wait till you are engaged in a great struggle elsewhere, and then your necessity will be their opportunity. Henceforward, the object of every Asiatic statesman will be to foster the jealousies of the European powers." "No doubt," I replied to him, "it will, but forewarned is forearmed, and I hope European statesmen will do their best to diminish their jealousies, and to come to an understanding between themselves in Asia. We have for some time got on very well with the French in the eastern seas; and I do not at all despair of our arriving at such a perfect good intelligence with Russia, that, far from being rivals in your continent, we may be a support to each other."

Since this conversation took place, the leading journal has published the plan of the Russians in case we had gone to war with them last year about Poland. No doubt that plan was a foolish one, even for Russia; because, although we could not have obtained any material compensation for the losses which our commerce would have suffered, the irritation which such conduct would have created here would have caused us to continue the war till we had inflicted on Russia far greater calamities. But supposing we had done so, should we not perforce have been damaging ourselves? It is the direct interest of this country that every other country should become civilised and enlightened as rapidly as possible. In every country, the most civilised and enlightened persons are our best allies. If, then, we had inflicted these calamities on Russia, and thrown her back for a generation, we should have been strengthening the hands of the retrograde or barbarous section of the community, at the expense of those whose triumph is our triumph. There are two English influences at this moment which are doing

more to conquer for us that mighty empire than could all Armstrong's guns and all Whitworth's guns, aye, and against which all Blakely's guns cannot protect her. The one is the spectacle of what free trade has done for us, and the other is the book of Dr. Gneist of Berlin upon our institutions.

Since the close of the session, the Franco-Italian Convention has come to gladden the hearts of all the more judicious friends of liberty in Europe. It is an immense step in advance, and let the Emperor of the French, who has so much to answer for, have the credit which he well deserves for it.

I observe an opinion expressed in some quarters that the Papal Government will be able to support itself by leaning upon Austria and Spain. As to Austria I say nothing, but as to Spain I would not, if I were the Cardinal Secretary of State, attempt to lean very heavily upon that staff. True it is, that the Roman Court has boundless influence over Queen Isabella and her immediate *entourage*. True it is, that the nation still does exclusive lip-service to its old creed, but apathy and indifferentism are the two words which now best express the religious state of Spain. Of course, there are exceptions to every rule; but any one who goes to Madrid and inquires into this subject will, I think, find that the long political and religious tyranny of the Inquisition did not end before it had eaten out the heart of faith as well as that of free inquiry. Trust me, that Spain will not long stand in the way of advancing Italy. It is far more likely that she will herself advance, and the hour of remarkable events beyond the Pyrenees is perhaps not very far distant.

Passing from foreign affairs, which have of late years occupied more of the time of Parliament than is at all desirable, I come to domestic subjects. Very few measures of any consequence were introduced last session by Her Majesty's Ministers. Indeed, so little was done, that I shall

not speak at all of the past, but of the future. An Absolute Government, when by some happy accident it is blessed with a good ruler, may be compared to a steam-ship. The purpose of the sovereign is then—

> "The burning resolute victorious will,
> 'Gainst winds and waves that strives unwavering still."

A Constitutional Government is, on the other hand, like a sailing vessel; it cannot move unless the sails are filled by the breeze of popular desires. Now, although I cannot pretend to be altogether satisfied with the crew which now navigates the vessel of the commonwealth—although I much doubt whether some of its best-known members are any longer able seamen, except in name, and would gladly see them in hospital, I am not quite sure that people do not sometimes throw blame on the mismanagement of the crew, when nothing is really at fault but the too great calmness of the weather. If this be so, I and others who, like me, are very anxious to move on, and very far indeed from being in a humour "to rest and be thankful," can hardly do better than come down to our respective constituencies, and whistle for a wind. But some one may say, "Supposing you get a wind, where do you want to steer?" I answer, to say nothing of far-off ports like reform, and many others about which you know my views, which there is no chance of our reaching till the popular breeze blows so hard as to be something very like a gale, there are many far nearer havens which I would fain reach, and which could be reached if the breeze blew ever so softly.

To drop the language of metaphor, here are a few objects amongst many which I would fain see a Liberal Government take in hand—1st, The improvement of the Diplomatic Service; 2d, The reorganisation of the Public Schools; 3d, The emancipation of the English Universities from laws made in the exclusive interest, or rather supposed interest, of one

section of Her Majesty's subjects; 4th, The correction of the abuses which render nugatory or mischievous so many of the great charitable foundations on the other side of the Tweed; 5th, A more strenuous application to the reform of the Law, with a view to its eventual codification.

What do I mean by the improvement of the Diplomatic Service? I mean this—In former times it used to be said, and with too much truth, that a diplomatist was a man sent abroad to lie for his country.* Our foreign policy has, thank heaven, become of so straightforward a kind that that saying is quite inapplicable. Although, however, this nation has no selfish or sinister objects to pursue, it has still many good objects to pursue, for which it requires thoroughly able and efficient agents. Perhaps there never was a time at which it was so desirable that every English mission should be a centre of English influence in the best and highest sense of the term. Any one, however, who knows the state of our diplomatic service will smile at the very idea of some of our missions being anything of the sort. I could mention the names of men high in the service who have absolutely no relations whatever with those circles which make opinion in the countries in which they reside. Do you imagine that England, whose policy, if often blundering, is in these times invariably honourable, would have the character that she has for duplicity—if our diplomatists understood their business? The truth is, that only a very few of them have the remotest notion of their business. Of all but a few, the kindest thing that can be said is, that they are not fitted by the habits of their minds to take a sufficiently wide view of men and affairs.

You want your diplomatic service to be composed of a more uniformly good material. You want it to be composed

* The original words of the saying run:—"To lie abroad for the good of his country."

exclusively of men of intellectual tastes and aptitude, and this you will never have till you force the Foreign Office to let it to be understood that the diplomatic service is one into which no young man is to be admitted who does not show that, in capacity and acquirement, he is up to the best of his contemporaries. It ought, in short, to be a service *d'élite*, in which the average standard of merit shall be that which is now reached by the best men in it—men for whom every one who knows how much ability and how much zeal they bring to the discharge of their duties, have the most profound respect. This improvement of the diplomatic service, I and others have vainly advocated in Parliament, and we have not the slightest chance of prevailing over the interests arrayed against us, until the press and the constituencies take the matter up.

The strong expression of opinion which followed the publication of the Report of the Commission upon the English Public Schools will, I trust, embolden the Government to bring in a bill upon this subject, applying a remedy which shall be not wholly inadequate to the greatness of the exigency. To do so will require some courage, because there is no subject on which the rank and file of the Conservative party is so unreasonable. I say the rank and file, because it is quite otherwise with some of the leaders—with Sir Stafford Northcote, for example. I need not say, however, that legislation can do but little in such a matter as this. The great change, the revolution which is absolutely necessary, if these institutions, which are not only important in themselves, but still more important as fixing indirectly the standard of the higher education from the Land's End to Cape Wrath, are to share in the progress of the age, must be accomplished by a slower process, by the influence of common sense upon the minds of parents, and by the exertions of the new governing bodies which Parliament, if it does its duty as

well as the Commissioners have done theirs, will next year call into existence.

A reform in the English public schools, although its influence would soon be felt by all classes of society—for to what class of society is not the intellectual training of half the Legislature important?—would more directly be advantageous to the wealthier classes. The measures which the English University reformers have at heart would, on the other hand, be most directly useful to the middle classes, not least, unless I am extremely mistaken, to that large body of persons in Scotland who, placed midway between wealth and poverty, cannot leave much to their children, but yet desire to give them a thoroughly good education, and to start them well in the world. Many of the remarks which I am about to make apply to Cambridge as well as to Oxford; but I will speak only of the latter, because I know its affairs far better than those of the sister University, and because my confining myself to it will make it unnecessary to introduce various limitations and reservations which would complicate what I have to say.

The reforming party in the University of Oxford, which is already numerous, although far from being in the majority, is anxious to effect these objects—First, to open Oxford to all classes of Dissenters from the Church of England, just as freely as the Scotch Universities are open to Dissenters from the Church of Scotland; second, to diminish the necessary expenses of University residence; third, to enlarge and modernise the programme of University studies. They think that, if they could do these things, they would make that ancient and magnificent institution, which is possessed of more than Royal revenues, a really national institution. It seems to them very absurd that so gigantic an engine for promoting learning and virtue should be the appanage of one sect, and not of the whole of that sect, but only of those

persons who are decidedly well to do in the world, and who are content to allow their children to postpone the commencement of their special or professional education till two or three and twenty. Before, however, they will be able to effect these objects, they have hard fighting to go through—fighting in the University and fighting out of it. For success in the University, they must trust to themselves. For success in the House of Commons, they must ask your help. They must get the question of University Reform made a question for the hustings.

Is it worth while making it a question for the hustings? Is it a large enough question? Let us see. You remember the agitation which was caused in Scotland by our own "tests question." That question, however, only concerned the Professors. This concerns the students. Up till recently, no one was allowed even to enter the University who was not a member of the Church of England. Now, the law permits a dissenter to study at Oxford, but refuses to allow him to take a Master of Arts degree or to obtain a fellowship.

Not many people in England, and still fewer in Scotland, have any idea of the enormous amount of pecuniary assistance towards obtaining a first-rate education which has, since the great but silent revolution of 1854, been annually dispensed in Oxford. Vast as these funds already are, they will be, in a few years, much greater. I cannot go into the details of the subject at present, it would take too long a time; but I cannot too strongly urge parents who could afford to supplement by a very moderate sum the resources which clever young men could win for themselves in exhibitions and scholarships, to obtain Professor Rogers's book, and to look at the facts and figures for themselves; I am much mistaken if some of them would not see that it might be an excellent investment, in many cases, rather to sink a little capital in sending a son to Oxford, than in sending him to the Colonies. Fourteen or

fifteen years ago it would certainly not have been so; but the Commission of 1854 abolished nearly all the local preferences which then existed, and completely altered the principles on which the income of many colleges was dispensed.

To complete the reform, and to make these endowments as useful to Scotland as to England, we only want you to help us to get over the test difficulty. The other reforms tending to make the education more generally useful to large classes of the community, the liberal party in the University will manage for itself. It was for the purpose of effecting something in this direction that Mr. Dodson, Mr. Goschen, and myself, brought in a bill last session, which was not in all respects so good as we could have wished, but which would have been useful. That bill was only defeated in the Commons after the sharpest fighting which has been seen in this Parliament, and then only on the question that the bill do pass, which is, as you know, the last ordeal to which any measure is subjected. Mr. Bouverie also brought in a bill on a different though cognate subject, a more important bill than ours, but one which, from its very importance, was easily defeated by the enemies of progress.

The astounding abuses in the administration of Charities, which were revealed to the public in the report of the Commission over which the late Duke of Newcastle presided, have led as yet to very little action on the part of Government, although no one can doubt, after Mr. Gladstone's magnificent speech of last year, that there is one man at least in the Cabinet who is prepared to lay the axe to the root of the evil.

Very possibly Ministers may wait till the new Commission upon Middle Class Schools shall have completed its labours. I proposed to Sir George Lewis in 1861 that these schools should be examined into by the same Commission which examined into the public schools; but he, wisely, as it turned

out, considered that the amount of work to be got through would then be too great for one set of Commissioners. When I called the attention of the House, on the 11th of June 1863, to the abuses in the administration of funds for educational and other purposes, amounting in the aggregate to one and a half million per annum, I hardly ventured to hope that we should have a Commission to inquire into Middle Class Schools so soon. In connection with this important subject, I wish to call the attention of the press in the north to the very interesting work of Mr. Arnold, entitled "A French Eton."

It is a subject of congratulation that we in Scotland are also to have a Commission to inquire into our educational system, which may, I hope, among other things, do something for our Burgh Schools; and I trust that that Commission will not neglect to look for information, amongst other places, to Holland, a country which in so many respects resembles our own, and where elementary education has been made a subject of such profound study and of such animated debates.

Of what use, however, are commissions, if ministers, who have long since obtained the object of their ambition, and only want a quiet life, leave their reports unopened on the shelf? This appears to have been the fate of the commission which in 1854 inquired into the Inns of Court, those great and wealthy corporations which guard the access to the most influential of English professions. I brought that subject before the House last session, acting in concert with some of the most respected members of those bodies, and I mean to return to it next year, in the hope not only to carry out the views of the Royal Commission of 1854, and of a Select Committee which preceded it; but still more with the hope of indirectly contributing to the codification of our law, by raising up a race of lawyers who may be inclined to make and able to work a code.

I cannot understand why more zeal in this cause has not been shown by recent Liberal Administrations. Every one knows that the present Lord Chancellor is really a law reformer, and that he is doing something in the direction to which I allude. Witness his speech of June last year. But in order to break down the opposition of interest and of prejudice, there is need for energy like that which was shown under the auspices of Justinian in old, and of the French Convention, or of Napoleon, in modern times. That energy the present Lord Chancellor has it in him to show, but the apathy of his colleagues, and of the public mind, leave him without proper support. When we look at the Macaulay Code, and the labours of the Indian Law Commission, it would really seem that our eastern dominions are in this most important matter to take precedence of the mother country.

I have mentioned these subjects, not because they are more important than many others which a Liberal Government might take in hand, but because they are all subjects in which I have a strong interest. It would be very easy to make a long list, ranging from comparatively small matters like the excellent bill brought in last year, by Mr. C. Forster, for the abolition of forfeiture upon convictions for felony, one of the most barbarous relics of feudalism which survive, up to the gigantic problem of pauperism, by dealing with which a man of genius might now perhaps more easily acquire a great place in the history of this country than in any other way. The removal of this skeleton from our feasts, the peaceful conquest of that army of Huns encamped upon our soil, is, I fear, a long way off, and its presence was almost the only shadow on that fairy tale of prosperity, Mr. Gladstone's Budget for this year.

The fact that it should be possible without insanity to speak in such terms of the Budget is the greatest encouragement which a Liberal politician has. See what Liberal

principles have done in that department of public affairs in which they have been most fully carried out. What will be the result when they are carried equally far in all concerns? The very fact, however, of our prosperity will make the task of the Liberal party easier in other matters. Wealth, which, badly distributed and badly used, did so much to overturn ancient societies, seems in our day to be the first condition of progress. Wealth, wisely used, infers enlightenment, and what does the Liberal party exist for, unless it be to incorporate with our institutions and our life the results of enlightenment? The men of thought, the Lockes, the Adam Smiths, the Benthams, the Austins, the John Stuart Mills, think out great questions. Practical politicians of the Liberal School follow in their wake. It is their art to obtain as speedily as possible from the country that momentum which is necessary to overcome the resistance of prejudice, of interest, or of apathy; and amongst the many advantages which accrue from such a meeting as ours to-day, I know none greater than that it enables one whose duty it is to occupy himself almost exclusively with the thought, "In what directions can progress most readily be made?" to learn for what purposes he can get the greatest amount of support.

For it is only when a large body of public opinion, extending through many different strata of society, moves together, that reforms in this country can be obtained at all. This makes our progress slow but sure, for those premature changes are avoided which lead to reaction—premature changes like those which made one of the most remarkable rulers of modern times say that his own epitaph would be—"Here lies Joseph II., who failed in everything that he undertook." Such being my views as to the best means of effecting reforms, although personally I should wish to push on in every direction, and to realise as soon as possible in all our institutions the ideas which are common to the greatest Liberal

thinkers in Europe, it has ever been and ever will be my object, without concealing my own opinions, carefully to watch yours, and always to advance chiefly in that direction in which you appear for the time being most willing to accompany me. The enemy is before us, the spirit of routine—the spirit of blind aversion to light—the spirit for which the Liberals beyond the Rhine have devised so good a name, calling it the Ungeist (the negation of intellect). There may be differences of opinion in our ranks now and then as to whether some particular position is occupied by friends or enemies. Let us not lose time about that. Let us advance against those positions which all Liberals agree to be occupied by enemies. Above all, let us advance "shoulder to shoulder."

And now, gentlemen, I know not that I have anything to add, except to say that, when the general election arrives, as it must do between this date and May 1866, and very probably before this day year, I shall again ask you for a renewal of that confidence which you gave me in 1857 and 1859; and to be not altogether unworthy of which is my highest ambition.

1865.

GENTLEMEN, ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS OF PETERHEAD—By this time I suppose that the dissolution has taken place, and the longest Parliament that has sat since Scotland, England, and Ireland were bound together by the indissoluble ties which now connect them, has become a thing of the past. I come before you to-night to ask a renewal of your confidence, conscious that I have tried to do my duty, and trusting that I have not forfeited your esteem.

The subjects about which, under these circumstances, you will naturally wish me to say something are—the late session, the existing political situation, and the near political future.

With regard to the former, its history is soon told. It differed from all the other sessions of the present Parliament, in the utter absence of those long discussions upon foreign affairs which filled too large a portion of the time of its predecessors. It was throughout rather languid, but there was a fair amount of really valuable work got through, and there were far fewer motions made with a view merely to their effect on the hustings than might have been expected. Ireland was the chief subject of discussion, and it may be said that "we boxed the compass" of Irish grievances. We had the general condition of Ireland brought before us by Mr. Hennessy. We had the Irish Establishment brought before us by Mr. Dillwyn. We had the relations of Irish landlords and tenants brought before us by Mr. Maguire. We had the miseries of Irish railways brought before us by Mr. Monsell, and the iniquities of Irish dogs by somebody else. The tone of these and other Irish debates must have been gratifying to any one who compared them with the debates of twenty years ago, and they left me fully persuaded that, although there are many things amiss in the state of Ireland, yet the most of its evils can be remedied only by the gradual increase of intelligence and prosperity, not by political action. Of course this is not the case with the Irish Establishment, which is a very great and very real grievance, defended in its entirety only by a few, and which will succumb as soon as the nation concentrates its thoughts upon it, thereby ridding us of almost the only well-founded reproach which foreign nations are in the habit of bringing against us.

The speech of Mr. Lowe upon Ireland, corrected to some extent by the short but exceedingly sensible speech made by Mr. Caird, member for the Stirling Burghs, during the debate on the condition of Ireland, which occurred at the end of February, contained more sound and valuable matter than any to which I have listened for some time. There is still much

in the condition of the sister island which is very sad and very disheartening—Protestant violence, and Catholic violence, both deeply to be deplored—vain dreams and crazy disaffection, with much physical suffering. These evils are, in a great measure, the result of the unwisdom of the English Government at a time when Scotchmen had no part in the Government of Ireland; but although the chances of history saved us, to a great extent, from inflicting the wrong, they have given us the opportunity of undoing it, and Scotch members have not been in the past, and will not be in the future, slow in trying to raise that unhappy portion of the empire to the level of the active and prosperous portion of it which they inhabit.

Many nights of the last session were devoted to a bill which, although primarily interesting only on the other side of the Tweed, is yet, when we consider the magnitude of the interests affected, to be reckoned as of Imperial importance. I allude to the Union Chargeability Bill. The Poor-law of 1834, a sweeping remedy for great and terrible evils, has been made less harsh in its operation by several Acts of the late Parliament, more especially by that relating to the removal to their own country of the Irish poor; and by the Irremovable Poor Act of 1861, which has been carried further by the Union Chargeability Act of which I am speaking. By that bill, the period of residence necessary to make persons irremovable has been reduced to one year; and the area of rating has been extended from the parish to the Union, thus taking away many unfair inequalities, diminishing the temptation to destroy or to abstain from building cottages, and at once promoting the morality and saving the time and sinews of the labourer. I think it is probable that the efforts of some benevolent persons who have taken up the matter will result in tempering the severity of the workhouse regulations with regard to infirm and incurable persons, which can easily be done without infringing upon the steril but necessary provisions by which the

interests of the whole community, and especially of that class which, as Miss Martineau has justly observed, is separated from the class below it by almost the widest social gap that occurs in our institutions—I mean the self-supporting poor—are protected from the unjust demands of pauperism. The press has lately called attention to some very glaring abuses in the metropolitan workhouses, and I hope the subject will not be lost sight of till an effectual remedy is provided. We shall best show our appreciation of the benefits which the Poor-law of 1834 conferred upon England by supplementing its defects—and not the least of these is the intermixture of children and adults in workhouses, a fruitful source of corruption to the former, and a great means of keeping them in after-life within the circle of pauperism, and at least on the borders of crime. This whole subject of pauperism is one of the gravest with which the English statesman has to deal, and the great fact that there are still such vast numbers of persons receiving relief must never be lost sight of when we speak of our prosperity. Two measures of the last Parliament, both of them due to Mr. Gladstone—the Act establishing Post-office Savings Banks, and that establishing Government Annuities—seem to me to have been amongst the greatest blows ever struck at this great national evil. One class in particular, and that, as the late Prince Consort remarked in one of his speeches, the most numerous class of Her Majesty's subjects —I mean domestic servants—they ought, if sufficiently widely known, entirely and finally to save from pauperism.

Another good measure of the session was the Amendment of the Law of Partnership, by an extension of the same principle which, since the introduction of limited liability, is producing such admirable results. Good, too, so far as it went, was the Clerical Subscription Act. A third was the Concentration of the Courts of Justice Act, a measure which seems at first sight of minor importance, but which will, I believe,

produce consequences far larger than any mere saving of immediate expense, and inconvenience to suitors, and ultimately help to bring about one of the greatest legal reforms for which English jurists have been sighing—the fusion of the rival systems of law and equity.

Passing from the history of the last session to the political situation of the moment, it seems to me that the question before the country is just the old one with which we are so familiar—Are we to go on, or are we first to stand still, then to slip back? There are some who say that the two parties in the State are pretty much alike, and that it is a question rather between men than between measures. That is a grave misconception. There are, as somebody said, two kinds of Liberals—Liberals before the fact, and Liberals after the fact. The former are the true Liberals, the latter are Tories in disguise. There are few Conservatives now who do not admit that all the great changes from 1832 to 1860 were perfectly right; but who cares for their approval now? What did they do when their approval would have been of some consequence? They opposed every one of those measures. How do they stand affected to all those Liberal measures which are before the country, but are not yet law? How did they treat in the last Parliament the commercial treaty with France, the Clergy Relief Bill, Mr. Bouverie's Bill for opening fellowships, Mr. Baines's Bill for lowering the Borough Franchise, Mr. Hadfield's Qualification for Offices Bill, Sir John Trelawny's Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates, or the Oxford Tests Abolition Bill?

I have said in my address that Her Majesty's present advisers have governed on fairly Liberal principles for the last six years. I used that expression advisedly, because I wished to point out that, although I was their steady general supporter, I did not feel entire or absolute sympathy with them. On more than one occasion I have expressed my impatience

at their rather negative than positive Liberalism, as well in the House of Commons as out of it. Of late, however, I have been inclined rather to think that their shortcomings have been caused more by a distrust of their power to carry large measures than by a wish not to carry them if they could. I remember having a conversation, shortly before his death, with that great and wise man, the late Sir George Lewis, about the Irish Establishment, when he said—"I should probably agree with all you think about it, but what can we do as ministers? The great majority of people would not take it up as a political question. It would be impossible to make them understand it, and we could effect nothing." That was the under-current of thought which ran through the whole of Mr. Gladstone's great speech last spring. No one who heard it could doubt that he was quite willing to deal with this great question if he could feel assured of having sufficient support.

Doubtless there are many degrees of Liberalism in the Ministry, but, on the whole, we have not much reason to be dissatisfied, although I sincerely trust that the day may come when we shall smile at the notion of the Cabinet which ruled from 1859 downward being described as progressive. All things in this world are relative, and you have only to compare the addresses issued by the Government with the address of Mr. Disraeli, which is the authoritative programme of the Conservative party, and intended to represent, not what its members will say in order to obtain seats, but the line they intend to take when they have obtained seats, in order to see how great a gulf separates even moderate Liberals from the Conservative party.

One thing, at least, is quite certain, and that is, that the superiority of ability and knowledge of affairs on the part of the present Government over any Conservative Government that could by any possibility be got together is on all hands admitted; and this is not extraordinary. If you turn to the

press, it is precisely the same thing. For one good article that appears in a Conservative journal, twenty good articles appear in Liberal journals, and any one who accepts what I believe to be the perfectly true maxim, that what is the prevailing tone of literature in one decade ought to be the prevailing tone of legislation in the next decade in a progressive country, must feel that nothing but the want of a proper measure of Parliamentary reform can prevent the Liberals of to-day having it all their own way ten years hence. I will ask any gentleman of Conservative views who may hear this speech, or who may read it in the newspapers, to take a pencil and write down the names of the dozen modern books which appear to him to be at this moment most widely influencing the minds of men in the United Kingdom. Every man will probably write down a different list, but hardly any man, however strongly Conservative may be his views, will, if he knows what is going on about him in the world, write down more than one or two Conservative books. Deeply true, I believe, to have been the words of one of the most remarkable Conservatives of our times,* who in 1859 said—"What support have we remaining upon earth? Power is against us, the masses are against us, the stream of the time is against us."

What was true in Germany, where he was writing, is more true in England. Here, gentlemen, the advance of Liberal views is like the advance of the tide over the low lines of rock in our bay. You watch it for a few moments, and it seems as if the black rock will hold its own, and drive back the advancing waters; but you turn aside for half-an-hour, and when you look again the strife is over, and where there was a sea-beat rock there is only a green sweep of billow. So, looking at the proceedings of Parliament, one sees a mighty pother made about this or that little concession to reason and common sense. Lord Derby declaims, Mr.

* Stahl.

Walpole and Mr. Hardy move heaven and earth; but the spectator looks aside for a session or two, it may be for a Parliament or two—the mighty Conservative pother is all still, the arguments are as dead as those by which the Reform Bill or the repeal of the Corn Laws was so long and so ineffectually opposed.

I have often expressed to you my views about Lord Palmerston; and the Scotch constituencies, as they never shared the prejudice against him once so general in England, have never shared that exaggerated enthusiasm for him which is now so common in the South, and which renders it but too probable that on the other side of the Trent some men will come into Parliament on the strength of professing unbounded confidence in Lord Palmerston, on whom the Liberal party will not be able to depend for a day after he has ceased to lead the House of Commons. What is material now is for candidates to define their attitude, not to Lord Palmerston, but to those who, in the nature of things, will soon be called to take his place.

Of these Mr. Gladstone is, in the lower house at least, far the most important, and we may say confidently, that if he distinctly determines to lead the Liberal party, he will lead it more brilliantly than it has ever been led before. Is it, however, quite certain that he will determine to do so? I pause before answering that question, and hesitate all the more how to answer it, because I am so anxious to answer it in the affirmative. Looking at his career as a whole, I think, however, we may say that, starting from what Macaulay described, with I think but little insight, as a stern and unbending Toryism, but what was rather the less hopeless neo-Toryism, which was the reaction from the great Liberal changes of 1832, he has come ever nearer and nearer to right principles, proceeding, not in a straight, but in a spiral line. On some points he has not only now long

been enlightened, but has become the leader of Liberal action. To that head belong his great exploits as a scientific adjuster of taxation, as a relaxer of the bonds of commerce, and as the promoter of economy in the affairs of the nation. He has now done quite enough to make it certain that the material prosperity of the country, which is the first condition of all other prosperity, will greatly gain, by his being in power. This is much, but if it were all, I fear he could hardly lead the Liberal party in the times which we are entering, because the number of changes which have to be made with regard to the financial and commercial arrangements of the nation must, in the nature of things, be fewer in the twenty years that are before us than they were in the twenty years that are behind us. Mr. Gladstone has however shown, all through this Parliament especially, that he is something more than even a great Liberal financier. He has shown a strong sympathy with popular feeling and with the abstract claims of justice. I would point, as an illustration, to his great speech on Italy the evening before the Easter recess of 1862, to his speech on reform in 1864, and to his speech on the Irish Establishment in the session which has just concluded. These speeches, taken in connection with many other circumstances in his career, lead me to think that he has enough of that sort of political instinct which will enable him to see when the demand for concession to the views of his partisans has become so strong as to command his submission to them; a submission which, observe, I do not think he will give, until he is intellectually convinced; but the influence of the opinions of the masses of his followers will be an element in the formation of his opinions.

The name of Mr. Gladstone brings me naturally to think of the future, and especially of the question of Parliamentary Reform. What is likely to happen about that question we shall not know until the results of this election are before us;

but one thing seems to be pretty clear, and that is, that it is to Mr. Gladstone that Liberals must look as to the man most likely to settle it. If one can guess the workings of that subtle intellect, I would say that he fully means to settle it, and to settle it by a very broad and ample concession to democratic claims. I say advisedly, democratic claims, for I hold with De Tocqueville as against Mr. Lowe, and without bringing the Fates and Destinies at all into the matter, it seems to me that it is only in accordance with common sense to believe, that as the masses of our countrymen become more intelligent, they will insist upon having a greater share in making the laws which are to rule them; and so I cheerfully accept and look forward to a very considerable downward extension of the suffrage, such an extension as will give the working class a very real, though of course not a preponderant power. As to the details of that measure it is useless to say anything, for I have voted on all such questions since you did me the honour to send me to the House of Commons. All I need say is—I will vote for any Reform Bill which will command the support of the bulk of the Liberal party. I think that bill should be brought in on the responsibility of the Government, not of an individual member; and I think Mr. Gladstone is the man pre-eminently fitted to take charge of it. Nothing seems to me more probable, than that before such a measure is carried, there may have to be a new arrangement of parties, and a fresh appeal to the country.

Last year, when speaking at Elgin, I mentioned five subjects which I thought a Liberal Government ought to take in hand. These were—1st, The improvement of the diplomatic service; 2d, The reorganisation of the Public Schools; 3d, The emancipation of the English Universities from laws made in the exclusive interest, or rather supposed interest, of one section of Her Majesty's subjects; 4th, The correction of the abuses which render nugatory or mischievous so many of the

great charitable foundations on the other side of the Tweed; 5th, A more strenuous application to the reform of the law, with a view to its eventual codification.

Upon none of these will I say anything now, because in my speech at Elgin last year, and in other speeches which have been pretty widely circulated in the North, I have said as much as seems for the moment necessary. But amongst questions which are ripe for settlement, I would especially instance Church Rates, about which the English Dissenters feel so strongly, and the Qualification for Offices Bill, to which they also attach much importance, and which, after passing through the House of Commons, was defeated by Lord Derby in the House of Lords, almost avowedly on the ground that, although its passing would make no real change, it was yet desirable to keep up existing regulations with a view to humiliate those Englishmen who were not members of the English Church.

Other questions which are ripe, or nearly ripe, for settlement are—The Abolition of Forfeiture of Goods in cases of Felony—an absurd feudal incident of the law of England, which has lingered on into our modern days, and which would have been swept away last session if a difference had not arisen between some of the departments of Government about the machinery proposed in the bill. Then we shall have the Report of the Commission upon Capital Punishment, and some action will have to be taken about that; and we shall have the Report of the Commission upon Middle-class Education, which will have to form the foundation of one or more measures; nor can the relations between the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade be considered to be finally settled by the inadequate arrangements which have resulted from the labours of Mr. Forster's Committee of 1864.

Such is a sketch, for the necessary tedium of which I ask your pardon, of some of the work that lies before the Liberal

party if you send it back reinforced to Parliament. Some of you may think that if all this were done there would still be much that remains to do. With most things that could be said on that side of the question I daresay I should agree, for we are far, far away yet from the ultimate goal of Liberal aspirations, and there are many things in the present state of our civilisation upon which our great-grandchildren will look back with astonishment and pity. The work, however, of the political philosopher and of the practical politician is very different, and while the latter may be deservedly blamed for not making himself acquainted with all that the most advanced political thinkers have to teach, he deserves not only toleration but approbation if he says—"I will do all that I can in the circumstances in which I find myself; I will attempt to carry out in legislation the conclusions which are generally accepted by Liberal political philosophers, and where I see a good opportunity of advancing Liberal measures by speech or action in Parliament, even although there is no immediate chance of carrying them, I will not fail to do so, but I will not prejudice a good cause by attempting impossibilities."

In this country we must go step by step; and the two things which Liberal electors should, I venture to think, contemplate at this moment are—first to send up Members who will urge the Liberal Government to bring in Liberal measures, and steadily support it in getting as many Liberal measures as possible through the House of Commons as at present constituted; and secondly, to send up Members who will assist it in carrying a real Reform Bill. Depend upon it that not very much can be done until you have transferred some thirty additional seats from the party of resistance to the party of progress. Never forget that the influence of the party of resistance, especially in the English constituencies, is far stronger than one would suppose it to be till one actually goes into

statistics about it, and that many opinions which are commonplace here would be startling novelties in many an assembly into which one would fancy that in this day of cheap newspapers a little light had penetrated.

I am sure, gentlemen, if you again send me to Westminster, you will always find at least one humble vote and voice on the side of progress; for the more I study the institutions of my own country, or of others, the more deeply am I convinced that it is by the application of those principles, gradually and timidly, that we have reached the position amongst the nations we occupy now; and that we must learn to apply them fearlessly and invariably if we will continue to march at the head of civilisation.

On the Hustings at Elgin (1865).

Gentlemen, Electors of Elgin, and of the Elgin District of Burghs—I return you my most sincere thanks for the honour you have done me in electing me once more without a contest, and for the third time, to be your representative. This election, although it has fallen upon one so humble as myself, has a certain significance, and may not, I will venture to say, be without its effects on the estimation in which our common country is held in other portions of the empire. Partly from the rejection of Mr. Macaulay in 1847, partly from the writings of Mr. Buckle, chiefly, perhaps, from the proceedings of certain Edinburgh societies, an opinion has very generally prevailed in the South, that a man could not at once think boldly, speak boldly, and retain the favour of a Scotch constituency. No one, friend or foe, will, I think, deny that I have thought boldly, spoken boldly, and more than retained the favour of a Scotch constituency. I say "more than retained" it, for, whereas in the year 1857 I should have had a

majority in all the burghs except Peterhead, if my opponent had gone to a poll, I may now boast that I stand as well in Peterhead as I do in Elgin, and that throughout the constituency I stand better than I did either in 1857 or 1859. I said in 1863—"The Scottish people are a thinking people—a people to be led by free speech and fair argument. I am sure they will support those Members who determine that nothing done or omitted to be done by them shall give occasion to men to say that the Scotchman is not as good a friend to religious as to civil liberty." You, gentlemen, have given me no occasion to regret these words.

I have, during the last week, passed in review most of the leading questions of the day, and many of you have read my speeches delivered in the eastern Burghs. I ought, perhaps, however briefly, to recapitulate here what I have said upon sundry matters, which are, from various reasons, peculiarly interesting at present.

First, then, with regard to the Law of Hypothec and the Game-laws. The maxim which I apply in both these cases is this—It is true wisdom to prevent immoderate by yielding cheerfully to moderate demands. As to the Law of Hypothec, surely prudence teaches us that in a country where, from the limited extent of its territory, the number of people who can possess land must ever tend to become smaller in proportion to the population, it is right to do away with all those incidents attaching to the possession of land which are not necessary to its reasonable enjoyment, and have an invidious character. Here the possession of land must be ever more and more a luxury, and there is no reason why the landowner should have the additional unpopularity which attaches to privilege. As to the Game-laws, I am quite prepared to make any reasonable concession such as will satisfy public opinion. It may, by the way, be worth remarking, that, as the *Scottish Farmer*, I think, pointed out, this agitation about four-footed

game would probably not have arisen at present if the game-keepers throughout the country had not so ruthlessly killed down the wild tribes whose natural prey are the hare and the rabbit. So true is it that injustice even to the inferior animals is always apt to recoil upon its perpetrators. I do not know if they ever looked at it from that point of view; but the gentlemen who met to discuss these matters lately at Aberdeen were the avengers of the hawk and the weasel, as well as of the farmers.

Passing from local to Imperial questions, we come to Parliamentary Reform. Now, as always, I am in favour of a serious downward extension of the franchise, such an extension as will give to the working classes a real but by no means a preponderant power. For example, I hope to see working men of the Hugh Miller type actually sitting in Parliament, just as a working man was a member of the French Provisional Government in 1848. How this is to be done without what is called, in the cant of the *Quarterly Review*, a degradation of the suffrage, is a mere matter of arrangement. Several very tolerable plans have been suggested already, and better plans may yet be suggested; but I wish to leave myself open to consider the whole details of the measure as soon as it is tabled by the Government. That can hardly be, it hardly ought to be, while Lord Palmerston is at the head of affairs. It is work for men who have grown up under other influences. It is, as it appears to me, for reasons which I explained at length at Peterhead, work peculiarly fitted to Mr. Gladstone. Some persons doubt whether Mr. Gladstone will ever be able to shake himself free from the glamour that was cast over him during his Oxford life, and would prefer for the leader of the Liberal party the safer wisdom of Lord Stanley; but, putting aside the objection that all Lord Stanley's party ties are with men who hate Liberalism from the bottom of their hearts, it is possible that he has inherited too few of the qualities of his

father—the Rupert of debate—to be as well fitted for a leader as Mr. Gladstone, who is the very incarnation of debating power. I admit, however, that I have hardly ever heard Lord Stanley make a speech with which I did not agree, while I have heard Mr. Gladstone make a great many with which I have had no sympathy. Perhaps the chief advantage which Mr. Gladstone has over his rival is that sort of political instinct to which I alluded in my speech at Peterhead, and which is a product less of the intellect than of the heart. Although I need hardly say that I have plumped for him in the Oxford election which is now going on—I did this in the interest of Oxford, not of Mr. Gladstone. I had much rather see him returned for South Lancashire, as far as his own future is concerned.

Next in importance, if, indeed, they are inferior in importance to Reform, are questions of religious liberty, which are, indeed, *the* questions of our generation. The smallest of these, and the one which is nearest ceasing to be a question, is the question of the passing or not passing of Mr. Hadfield's Qualification for Offices Bill. The biggest of these, and the one furthest from ceasing to be a question, with a whole Iliad of battles between us and its ceasing to be a question, is the question of the dis-endowment of the Irish Establishment. The downfall of the Irish Establishment, carrying with it, of course, the discontinuance of the Maynooth Grant and the Regium Donum, the further improvement of the Poor-law system, the substitution in Scotland of a National for a Denominational system of education, the completion of the revision of the Statute-book, and the forming of a digest of cases, with the view of eventually arriving at a Code such as that which is now being formed for India, the carrying of Mr. Bouverie's Bill for opening Fellowships, and of the Oxford Tests Abolition Bill, the Abolition of Church Rates,

a Clergy Relief Bill, a better Clerical Subscription Bill, the Qualification for Offices Bill; the reorganisation of the public schools, the correction of charitable abuses, the improvement of the system of middle-class education, the abolition of public execution, the abolition of purchase in the army. There is a pretty considerable but very imperfect list of things requiring to be done!

How many of them will be done when the Parliament which is now being elected is gathered to its fathers? Few, I fear, and yet not none; but the bill of fare which I have laid before you, although composed exclusively of the most wholesome materials, will probably be too much for the political digestion of the next two, or even three Parliaments.

And yet, who knows? Yesterday, we learnt that Mr. Mill was returned for Westminster, Mr. Hughes for Lambeth, and that all the efforts to shake the Liberals in the city of London had only resulted in a hopeless defeat. These are good omens, and before three o'clock to-day we, perhaps, may know that the party of resistance will have to cope with fearful odds in the new Parliament. I am convinced that it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the indirect results which will follow from Mr. Mill's return, and it is with great satisfaction that I remember that I had the pleasure to address a meeting of Westminster electors in favour of Mr. Mill. The success of Mr. Mill is not only the triumph of a Liberal over a Conservative; it is something infinitely more than this. It is the triumph of intellect over anti-intellect. Nay, it is hardly too much to say, considering the weapons with which the contest was waged by many of Mr. Mill's opponents, it is a triumph of pure good over pure evil. No other incident that has happened, or could have happened, in this election, will do so much to elevate the English name, and to advance the popular cause amongst educated men in foreign countries.

The beginning of the year, gentlemen, is always a solemn time; the beginning of a Parliament is a still more solemn one, more especially of such a Parliament as this, in which it is more than probable that the thoughts and aspirations of the new generation, which has grown up to manhood since 1848, will find far more expression than they have ever done before. The last Parliament was called by the Tories; and although they failed to obtain a majority in it, and were hurled from power as soon as it assembled, still their spirit remained strong in it to the end. The new Parliament is called by the Liberals, and it is not too much to hope that it will be far more earnestly Liberal than its predecessor. The General Election of 1865 may well be a turning point in the silent but desperate struggle which is now going on between authority and opinion, between the mediæval and the modern spirit; and our descendants may well think it more important even than we do, when it is seen through the dimness of history. Mr. Mill and Mr. Gladstone may loom larger to them than they do to us.

> "What gives the past the haunting charms that please
> Sage, scholar, bard, the shades of men like these,
> Seen in our walks, with vulgar blame or praise,
> Revered or worshipped as our faction sways.
> Some centuries hence and from that praise or blame,
> As light from vapour springs the steady flame,
> And the trite present which while acted seems
> Life's dullest prose, fades in the land of dreams."

1866.

Mr. Grant Duff said—Gentlemen, for the first time since 1858 your representative comes before you as a member of a discomfited party—discomfited, I trust, not for long, but nevertheless discomfited. I know not what were the reflections of our distinguished leader, as he went homewards, in the early June morning, after the division on Lord Dunkellin's motion; but surely they might with propriety have been summed up in the words of Sir John Falstaff—"I have led my ragamuffins where they are peppered; there's not three of my hundred and fifty left alive."

The elections of last year resulted in giving the Liberal party, *for general liberal purposes*, a large majority. It has been said that it was a Palmerston majority, but of that there is no evidence. Where the Palmerston cry was likely to be useful, it was of course freely used, just as the Reform cry was used in places where *it* was likely to be useful; but the real question which was put to and answered by the country, was simply this—Is it to be progress or standing still? The country decided for progress.

No reasonable human being expected Lord Palmerston to lead the new House of Commons; and just a year ago he closed his long, and, on the whole, honourable career—passing away amidst the lamentations of many who had spent the best part of their middle life in opposing him, and least regretted by those who, having supported him when he had comparatively few friends, felt that he had lived on into a time which it was contrary to the very nature of things that

he should be able to understand, and in which he was becoming, if indeed he had not rather already become, a power for evil and not for good.

His vacant place was filled by Lord Russell, as was natural, and indeed inevitable, although no member of a party which boasts to move with the times could be blind to the disadvantage of replacing an octogenarian chief by a chief well on in the seventies. The work of reconstructing the Government proceeded through the winter. The choice of men to fill up the non-Cabinet offices gave, I think, very general satisfaction. More especially were people pleased when Mr. Stansfeld, who was driven from a subordinate post in a very ungenerous way during the last Parliament, rejoined the administration in a more dignified capacity. The rearrangement of the Cabinet was not so successful; and those who understood the House of Commons best will not, I think, disagree with me when I say, that the mistakes made in this important matter have led, and may yet lead, to calamitous results. Very early in the session I saw around me all the symptoms which preceded the fall of the Palmerston government in February 1858, and he must have been indeed dull who did not perceive that her Majesty's late advisers would soon land the Liberal coach, and us the innocent passengers, in what the Yankee mail-driver more expressively than classically described as a "most unhandsome nip and frizzle of a fix."

Meeting Parliament, as they did, with a weakened Cabinet, and a House of Commons with regard to which they could know nothing except that they commanded a large majority for general liberal purposes, it would surely seem that their wisest policy would have been to announce, in the Queen's Speech, a group of bills in which they could not have failed to carry all their party along with them. What the effect of such tactics would have been was shown in the

splendid majorities which we obtained on the Oxford Tests Bill, so admirably brought forward by Mr. Coleridge, the only measure on which the full strength of the Liberal party in the present Parliament has been put forth. Had this been done, we should very soon have seen an improvement in the tone of their supporters. Those who were not enthusiastic about the men would have been enthusiastic for the measures, and Ministers would have approached what ought to be the real work of the present Parliament, the settlement of the Reform question, with infinitely greater chance of success.

Looking at the matter as I do, from the point of view of one who is anxious to see the Liberal party victorious at all points, the course I should have liked to have seen taken since the death of Lord Palmerston, would have been something of this sort:—1st, To have reconstructed the Cabinet in the way best calculated to command the confidence of the party; 2d, To have brought forward a group of bills which could not have failed, in their passage through the House, to have welded us together; 3d, To have pledged the honour of the Government to have introduced and read a first time, before the end of the session, a comprehensive measure of Reform; 4th, To have introduced a large, wise, and carefully elaborated measure, which the enemies of Reform might indeed have opposed, but which would not have required a government which was pledged to it to change its front in the face of the enemy. What would have been the result of this? The bill would have had to be discussed before his constituents by every member who went down to visit the borough which he represents; and, long before the commencement of the session of 1867, the Government would have been perfectly aware whether it had or had not the support of the country behind it, and whether it could or could not safely let it be understood, that it would, if defeated, appeal to the constituencies. After all that has come and gone, my belief

is, and I know it is a belief shared by many of those who supported the late Government with the utmost steadiness, that, if that course had been adopted, an excellent Reform Bill would have been passed before the end of August 1867. It should not be forgotten that 1866 was the first year of a Parliament, surely the most unpropitious moment for the passing of a measure which, in its effects in the body that passes it, reminds one of the famous simile of the historian who, after describing Alva's entry into Brussels, says—"The city, after it had received the Spanish general within its gates, was like a man who has taken poison, and who awaits in shuddering expectancy the manifestation of its deadly working." The only objection to this scheme which is likely to be brought forward, is, that some people might have raised the cry that the Government was trifling with the question. I believe the number of persons who would have done so would have been quite insignificant. To have done so would have been to accuse both Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone not only of supreme stupidity, but of the most impudent hypocrisy, and few, I fancy, were prepared to do that. When the Government had taken its resolution, something might have been effected to prevent mischief by a fair exchange of views between the heads of the party and their followers; but Lord Russell has never, with all his experience, learnt that a party is not a machine, but a body of men. The lines in which Lord Lytton described him twenty years ago are still true. These lines are familiar enough; not so are five of Lord Russell's own, written when he was sowing his intellectual wild oats in tragedies and romances, and diaries of the *Wandering Jew*—

> "My business, not my bosom, they shall know;
> Hence be my heart, like ocean, common road
> For all, but only for the dead abode;
> Man shall not sound the deep o'er which he steers,
> And none shall count its treasures or its tears."

These lines, which are supposed to have been written by the hero of the novel which he gave to the world in 1824, before the sun began to shine on his side of the political hedge, may be highly proper sentiments for a young gentleman who has just seen his lady-love expire at his feet, but perhaps they are not altogether so suitable for the leader of a party. His life has been a long, and, on the whole, a useful and successful one, still, if he had not taken these lines, or something like them, for his rule of action, he might have done far greater things.

Mr. Gladstone was the last man in the world to make up for any want of communicativeness on the part of his colleagues, so they went their own way; and when it became clear that they were about to take the course which they did take, there was nothing to be thought of but to give him an unswerving support. Theirs, not ours, would be the responsibility of failure as well as the honour of success. I hope they are all, now that leaders and followers have been overwhelmed in a common disaster, quite satisfied with the plan which was pursued. The vast majority of the party, although painfully aware that "some one had blundered," voted as steadily as if they had believed that ministers were one and all Achithophels; and it must not be forgotten that, if the Reform question acted as a solvent in one fraction of the Liberal majority, it kept other fractions together which, if there had been no large question like Reform before us, might have been less easy to manage.

The tenants of the Cave, of whom so much has been said, may be divided into three sections—1st, Those who hated any real Reform altogether; 2d, Those who, from reasons connected with their own seats, and the like, did not want the Government bill; and 3d, Those who, with no strong political bias one way or another, were dragged in and became a prey to the genuine hyenas of the Cave. Of the first I need

say nothing. Their motives are intelligible enough. They were our enemies in the last, and they will be our enemies in future struggles, but their number is not very great. Of the second and third I have still hopes, in spite of explanations which explain little, such as those which came from the other side of the Firth,* and with regard to which one might be inclined to say—

> "These are the after-thoughts that reason feigns
> To justify excess, and pay the debts
> Incurred by passion's prodigality."

Who on earth can wonder that the Liberalism of a man in Lord Grosvenor's position should be dashed with Conservative elements? Improvements which tend ever so remotely to improve you off the face of creation are looked upon with very different eyes by the *improver* and the *improvee*. The spirit of democracy is not favourable to great individualities of that sort, and it is hardly likely that what is disappearing from all other countries will remain for ever in England. No doubt the maddest thing for such persons to do would be to oppose themselves to the current of the times. That would bring swift destruction and precipitate changes, which people may only be speculating about a hundred years hence; still, as I say, one may pardon some lingering glances and coy regrets.

With regard to this Adullamite secession, there is another thing to which sufficient attention has not been paid. People have treated it too much as if it had been purely a matter of politics, and not, to some extent, also a matter of fashion. In a neighbouring country the *salons* were for many a day a great political force. We have no *salons* in London, the more's the pity; but it is not to be supposed that, even under our gray skies, and in the city of Exigency, as some one well named

* The reference was to a speech just made to his constituents by Mr. Laing, then M.P. for the Wick Burghs.

the work-a-day metropolis of England, social influences are not to be taken account of. Well, the social influences were not propitious to Reform. The "party of the Roses and the Nightingales" was very decidedly against us. And if the "party of the Roses and the Nightingales" was adverse, what had we to expect from our "golden youth?" I am quite sure that, if you except the small knot of men whom I call the genuine hyenas of the Cave, there are very few of those who voted against the late Government on the two decisive occasions of last session who are really and on conviction opposed to any further concessions to the spirit of democracy. All that is wanted for those gentlemen whom I put in the second and third classes, and consider as the prey of the genuine hyenas, is to see that the country and their constituents are thoroughly in earnest; that what is desired is a distinct step, not a very long step, but a distinct step towards a more democratic form of government; not a tinkering up of the existing state of things with a few well-neutralised democratic elements, but a change which, while it weakens the party of resistance, shall make England on the whole a better place for the artisan, by giving him the increased self-respect which comes from a sense of exercising a reasonable amount of political power, as well as being able to bring the peculiar ideas of his class before the attention of Parliament more directly than has hitherto been possible. I am glad to observe that both Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone seem anxious to make a golden bridge for such of the seceders as are rather victims than enemies.

If Reform is to be the principal subject of the next, as it was of the last session, I do hope that those at least who sit on our side will agree in considering that the time for long speeches has passed, and that the time for action has come. I think all of us who are of one mind about the root of the matter—that is, who really wish considerably, but not overwhelmingly, to in-

crease the democratic element in our political system—should not be too critical about the precise measure which commends itself to those who happen, for the moment, to be at the head of the Liberal party. The word of command for all except the very few should be, now that the whole question is thrashed out, "Hold your tongues and vote straight."

This business of Reform has come to be the first political necessity of the time—it must be done, honestly done, and got rid of. It is a just thing and an expedient thing; but those seem to me something more than sanguine who fancy that, in helping it forward, they are doing anything at all comparable to the work of those who passed the measure of 1832. Those who passed that measure, which, to Scotland at least, was really a Magna Charta, stand to those who will pass the Reform Bill that lies before us in the same relations that a great inventor like Watt or George Stephenson stands to the useful gentlemen who are retained at immense salaries by our great railway companies, and who save many times over the amount of those salaries by small useful improvements in locomotives or other machinery. I verily believe that the exaggerations, and the weary stump oratory with which the subject of Reform has been overlaid, have done five times more harm to the cause than all the speeches which have been made from the Tory benches. Let us accept our position: we Reformers of 1866 are useful citizens, but by no means heroes or dragon-slayers.

Then as to the question whether we should or should not take a Reform Bill from the Tories.—My answer to that is this: If the Tories make up their minds to swallow the bitter pill, and, for the sake of keeping in power, are content to do our work, and to give us a real, though moderate, concession to democracy, I should be sorry to disturb them whilst they are doing it; but if they try the old trick of giving with one hand and taking away with the other, there will be nothing

for it but to overturn them. Never was there a moment when honesty would be such good party policy for these gentlemen. Never was there a moment when they were likely to meet with less factious opposition, if they will only bow to what the longer heads among them must see to be, sooner or later, inevitable. Government by party may not be the final outcome of human sagacity, but for the present we have devised nothing better; and such being the case, it cannot be desirable that either of the two parties which alternately rule the State should be too long in power. To have to consider not what will be good for the country, nor what will be supported by its highest intelligence, but what will go down with the House of Commons, is no doubt a valuable discipline; but to have to do this year after year, and never anything but this, gives us what are called hack statesmen, a class of which the Liberal party boasts some most conspicuous examples. Many of us think that a year or two spent in the cold shade of opposition will do a great deal of good to our magnates, demoralised as they have been by too long a sojourn in the sunny fields of office. We know that the country is with us, that a Tory government can only exist by passing Liberal measures, and that, although our leaders are not in Downing Street, we ourselves, and you through us, are still in power.

The Reform discussions swallowed up nearly all the other subjects which seemed, at the beginning of the session, likely to occupy the time of the Commons, and even if they had not been so ravenous, there was a restless feeling in the House which would hardly have allowed it to settle to anything. The sudden announcement, made upon unimpeachable authority, that Fenianism, which we had fancied a small matter, was really a very serious one, took most persons by surprise, and brought home to us what cannot be brought home too often, that most of us know exceedingly little about Ireland, and that, in order to know about it, we must not generalise

from England and Scotland, or merely pick up what knowledge we can, but make a special study of it, as we should if we wanted to understand the politics of France or any other portion of the Continent. This feeling of surprise, the hurried summons for a morning sitting upon Saturday, together with the remarkable speeches which were delivered, will make the day on which the Habeas Corpus was suspended long remembered by all who were present. Mr. Bright, who, putting aside all consideration of his opinions, and looking merely to the literary form in which he clothes them, and to his voice and manner, has always seemed to me incomparably the greatest of living English orators, delivered on that occasion the most impressive speech to which I had ever the good fortune to listen.

What Ireland seems really to require at the hands of a British Parliament is the abolition of the alien Establishment, the complete realisation in practice of the present Lord Derby's famous formula of united secular separate religious education; but above and before all, such a revision of the law of landlord and tenant as may make it impossible that the former should ever be able to take an unfair advantage of the latter, together with the repeal of all artificial barriers to the transfer of land. If these things were done; if some small sentimental grievances which now and then crop up were attended to, Ireland would be even more favourably situated than the other portions of the United Kingdom; yet if all these reforms were carried out to-morrow, Fenianism would apparently be just as rife as ever.

Fenianism appears to be the product partly of the remains of old national dislike, partly the result of years of misrule, partly a reflection of socialist ideas, partly the direct effect of Irish-American instigation. As long as it lasts, the reforming action of the best-intentioned government must be terribly hampered.

Another important incident of the session was the discus-

sion which was raised about the probable duration of our coal-supply. So far as the House of Commons went, the victory remained with the anti-alarmist party, nothing having been put forward by the other side one-half so weighty as the statement of Mr. Vivian. Till, however, the commission which has been appointed to ascertain the real state of the facts with regard to our coal has reported, it would be quite premature to attempt to form any opinion as to who are right and who are wrong. Surely, however, we may put the previous question, and say whether or not, in the distant future, our coal and those other sources of heat-supply, to which Mr. Grove pointed in his recent address, shall be too costly to enable our manufactories to go on upon their present scale, is it at all so certain, as some would have us believe, that national decadence will be the inevitable result? Our manufactures are closely bound up with the present phase of our greatness, but not, I think, with every conceivable phase of it. We were great before our manufactures were developed, and it will be our own fault if we are not great when Manchester and Sheffield shall have successful rivals in the United States. Nothing but our own misdoing can take from us the immense advantage of our situation on the globe—nothing but our own folly can take from us the advantage of the enormous start in prosperity which we have over all other nations. And it may be permitted to our national pride to flatter itself that, when under bad and blundering leadership, which has loaded us with so much unnecessary debt, and procured us so much unnecessary humiliation, we have got so far as we have, it may well be that, with rulers educated, and not merely veneered, as they too often have been, with a people, not as it was at the moment of our highest European greatness, unable to read and write, but instructed and enlightened, we may, although no longer the great workshop of the world, be, on the whole, the most favoured portion of it.

Some of you may recollect that I spoke last year on the hustings of Mr. Mill's election as an event of no ordinary importance. I do not think my predictions have been falsified; but my deep admiration for Mr. Mill cannot prevent my saying, nay rather encourages me to say, that I think the speeches which he delivered towards the middle of the session, beginning with that admirable one on the Franchise Bill, were so good as to make it infinitely desirable that he should confine himself to speaking great essays on great subjects. For the ordinary carte and tierce of the House he has no particular gifts. Hercules himself, club, lion's skin, and all, would have stood little chance with the fencing-masters Grisier or Bertrand.

The House of Commons does not listen willingly to new ideas. What it likes is to hear its own ideas re-echoed in an agreeable form. It is still, to a great extent, the same assembly which Lord Chesterfield so well described in his letters to Philip Stanhope. Mr. Mill can make it listen to new ideas, and, this being the case, it is a pity that he should throw away his power by such speeches as that which he made on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland, or on the serio-comic affair of the Hyde Park riots.

It remains for me to say a few words upon foreign affairs. It has been, in many respects, a sad and terrible year. Beginning with a most unusual number of disasters on our coast, it found us with the cattle-plague, has brought us the cholera, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, a credit panic of unusual severity and extent, the failure and fall of a Liberal Government, and a more than indifferent harvest; yet so enormous has been the piece of work done on the Continent for the general good of Europe and the advancement of every kind of progress, that unless, before December 31st, some great and unforeseen calamity shall occur, we may well consider that this year 1866 has been one of the most blessed,

as it is assuredly one of the most memorable, that any of us have ever seen.

The recent war was most admirably characterised, a few weeks before the first blow was struck, by a friend of mine writing to me from the Continent, as a "rampagiously composed tragedy of errors, in which all the actors have changed parts." On the one hand was Austria, legally right; on the other hand Prussia, legally wrong; on the one hand Mensdorff, a most upright and honourable minister; on the other side Bismarck; and yet I and every one who had made a study of the affairs of Germany knew that, the instant that the war began, all our hopes must be for the success of the evil and the failure of the virtuous minister.

What has been happening before us has, when stripped of the disguises with which it has been overlaid, been simply the fourth act of the drama which began with Luther, the first act of which was closed when the Swedes left their king by the great stone on the field of Lützen. Ever since Prussia cast in her lot with the Reformation, and Austria with the counter-Reformation, the victory of the former, in a political sense, has been simply a question of time. It is easy to praise the fortunate, and many who, all through the year 1864, did their utmost to insult and vilify Germany, now seem to have taken for their creed "There is no God but success, and Bismarck is his prophet." But I may speak well of the victors without loss of self-respect, because at the time when Germany was most at a discount in this country, I, with your full sanction and support, spoke just as I do now.

It is strange to see some newspapers, which are generally well informed, writing as if the recent successes of the Prussian army, and the approach which is being made to the consolidation of Northern Germany, were mainly due to Count Bismarck. With regard to the former assertion, I would only

beseech our instructors not to forget dates, and to remember that Count Bismarck only took the reins of power in September 1862, when the changes in the Prussian army were very far advanced. The praise and the blame which the changes will obtain from the future historian will be shared between the King and his military advisers. And, as for the consolidation of North Germany, nothing but his strong dislike to owing an Imperial Crown to the revolution, his reverence for the smaller princes, whom he considered, like himself, rulers by the grace of God, perhaps to some extent fear of Russia, prevented that being effected by the late king seventeen years ago. Let Count Bismarck have the credit which he deserves—and he does deserve great credit. Like Strafford, his motto has been "Thorough." He has kept his master up to the mark in spite of the thousand sinister influences which have been brought to bear, in favour of the princes, in the old soldier's honest but not very powerful mind. A wiser and better man could not have done this, for a wise or good man could by no possibility have maintained himself in close relations with the King during the last four years, except, indeed, as a private friend.

To any one who knows Germany, the fact that this great thing which is being done under our eyes should have been done by the present king—that he of all men should have been the person who, in the words of a German political poem, was to "claim the debt, or send the debtor to Gehenna," that his foot, of all the feet in the world, was the foot that was to "tread on Carlsbad and Vienna," is indeed one of the strangest illustrations of the irony of destiny. This is strange, and it is stranger still to stop and reflect. What is fame, and what is political success? The name of this well-meaning prince, and of his audacious minister, will be remembered long after the names of the many good and great and noble men who prepared all that has been done, who would have done all that

is being done much better, if only they could have wielded the power of Prussia, have been long, long forgotten.

Still, no matter who did it; a great work is done. Austria is out of Italy and out of the German Confederation, and with a smaller amount of human suffering than I, for one, in my wildest dreams ever hoped. Before the war began, I said in the preface to a work which I published in the early summer that no one who knew the forces at work in Europe could doubt that Prussia and Italy must conquer in the end; but when the end was to be I did not venture to guess. Nor will I shelter myself under the allegation that the needle-gun did it. The needle-gun did a good deal, but not all. Opinion did it. Brains did it. Education did it; and I am not ashamed to admit that, though I shall hardly be suspected of undervaluing those moral forces, I did not know that in the actual battlefield they gave so much superiority as it is clear that they have done. Read, any of you who come across it, Mr. Dicey's paper in *Macmillan* on the recent campaign; it is confirmed by all that I have heard from other sources, and puts the truth singularly clearly and well.

Another great occasion for rejoicing is the behaviour of the Prussian army in the enemy's country. Of course some excesses have been committed, but surely fewer than ever were committed in any war that has been waged since the world began. Take it for all and all, the fact that such enormous hosts were hurled against a hostile empire for a political purpose, which they fully accomplished with so little "misery in waste," as Bentham would have said, is about the most creditable thing in the annals of the human race, and an encouragement to all those who believe that our remote descendants will be far better than ourselves.

The German question, considered by itself, has been ripe for settlement for a good many years; but if it had been settled before 1859, it would not have drawn with it the

settlement of the Italian question, because, until recently, the superstition that Germany must be defended on the Adige was cherished by so many Germans that Austria would have found it easy to laugh at the notion of giving up Venetia. Indeed the marvellous good luck of Italy in getting Prussia to do her work is as remarkable as her previous misfortunes. Ever since 1859 she has been the spoilt child of fortune, and at last, as some one very truly said, has gained Venetia simply by crying for it. Let us hope that freedom from the yoke of the stranger will bring a speedy settlement of all her internal difficulties, together with commerce and wealth. Genius is probably not commoner in Italy than elsewhere, but assuredly there is no European country where talent and capacity are so widely distributed.

Two large European questions of great interest still remain open, to say nothing of the Polish one—namely, what is to happen in the Eastern Peninsula, and are we to see a Scandinavian union? To the first of these questions we have only too many answers from Anti-Turks and Philo-Turks, while recently the cool-headed and well-informed politicians who have been called Anti-Anti-Turks have found a mouthpiece in one* who has few equals in the Horatian art of combining truth with merriment. There seem some indications of the revival, in several parts of Europe, of the Phil-Hellenic enthusiasm of forty years ago. Let no man allow himself to be carried away with it until he has read the last work of our countryman, Mr. Finlay, who has justly been called by one whose praise is worth having, "one of the wisest of our historians," but who does not seem to me to have ever altogether met with that recognition which he so eminently deserves. Decidedly the mental attitude with which we should for the present listen to the rumours coming to us from the East is that enjoined by the old Greek philosopher—"Be

* The last Lord Strangford.

sober, and remember to doubt." The Scandinavian question is only just rising above the political horizon, and all that I need say about it is, that, should it eventually seem good to the Danes, the Swedes, and Norwegians, to form one empire, the interests of this country and of civilisation could only be furthered by such a step.

The legitimate aspirations of the peoples seem at last being realised, and if we can only tide over the next year or two, and see the passions lately excited settle down, we may look forward to a far closer union between the various nationalities in which resides, so to speak, the brain of Europe. When all legitimate aspirations as to territorial extent and mutual independence are satisfied, is it Quixotic to hope that we may begin to regard other nations, not as our rivals, but as co-operating with us? Is it Quixotic to hope that the international spirit which animated Mr. Cobden, and which made him so truly what M. Drouyn de Lhuys called him, an international man, may spread, increase, and take possession of all our minds? Its blessed effects in the domain of trade we see in the results of the French treaty; but just, as for example, our woollen manufacturers are beginning to find out that there are certain articles which the French can produce more profitably than we can, and the French woollen manufacturers are beginning to find out that there are certain articles which we can produce more profitably than they can, so that the two sets of men play into each other's hands, co-operating rather than competing; so, in the future, there are a thousand things besides mere articles of commerce which we shall exchange with other European nations, till the whole of us are raised to a far higher level, not only of national prosperity, but of moral and intellectual advancement.

When the disturbance caused by the war has a little settled down, we shall, I hope, soon hear that the good work of the Austrian commercial treaty, which was left unfinished

in the summer, is again going forward, under the same able superintendence as formerly. Thanks to the persevering efforts of such men at home and abroad, we may confidently trust that Russia and the Spanish Peninsula, the last European strongholds of the hateful spirit of protection, will at last awake to a sense of their true interests, and, while enormously benefiting themselves, greatly benefit us.

The great ruin which fell upon our ancient ally on the Bohemian battle-fields, has been improved by a portion of the press, with a view to inducing this country, while it is still time, to amend some of its institutions, rather than to wait till a turn of the political wheel overwhelms it in an equal disaster. Again and again we have been on the verge of something of the sort, and have pulled through, thanks to the indomitable force and vigour of the national character. We have pulled through, however, at a fearful price, and it is hardly in the nature of things that we can go on running such risks for an indefinite period. The great blot which some of our newspapers have been pointing out is, that the whole management of our public affairs is far too slack. It is nearly all amateur work, not the work of trained artists. Now, the world has got past the period when amateur work, except in very rare instances, can be good work. In every department so much is already known, that it is idle for even the ablest man to fancy that he can do much good without long and laborious study. Before he can understand any science, or practise successfully any art, he must be for years a learner. And yet our rulers are under the delusion that the great science of Government, and the great arts of administration, are exceptions to this law. The House of Commons, not content with the august and enormous duties which rightfully belong to it, takes upon its shoulders not only a mass of private Bill legislation, much of which could be far better managed by a paid tribunal, but obstinately refuses to

accept the aid of a board of professionally trained law-makers to clothe its will in appropriate language. The result is, that while we may boast that the matter of our laws is far the best in the world, the form of our laws is below all contempt. The very same fault is found in our public offices. At their head you have generally, whether Whigs or Tories are in, a man of great rectitude of intention and of considerable ability; but quite as often as not, you have a man who, when he enters upon his office, has everything to learn, and has not even a general acquaintance with the vast concerns which he takes in hand.

If we learn something from the disaster of Austria, we have something also to learn from the success of Prussia—not that I wish any direct imitation of Prussian methods, military or otherwise, for we can rarely graft the institutions of one people upon another with much advantage. What, however, has given Prussia her present position is not any particular institution. It is that intense desire for intellectual superiority which has gained for her the nickname of the *Intelligenz-Staat*—a spirit so intense and so all-pervading, that it has, as Europe has seen, penetrated even that military clique which has been called, from its want of intelligence in non-professional and political matters, the "anti-intellect." Who was the Prussian minister for war? Von Roon, an ex-professor. Who was the directing soul of the whole campaign? Von Moltke, the very type of a student.

And so it must be, and so it will be. Intellect and knowledge, trained ability and hard work, must now carry everything before them, and that absurd mania for athleticism, as an end in itself, and not merely a relaxation, which has spread like a plague through the upper class of English society, is rapidly assuming the dimensions of a national calamity, *will* assume the dimensions of a national calamity, if the middle class does not begin to give to its children, perhaps at some

sacrifice, that training which the perverse folly of the wealthiest upper class in Europe abets the authorities of Eton in withholding. Let us hope that one of the results of the introduction, by a Reform Act, of a new element into our political life, may be, that our rulers may awake from their dreams, learn that the world is changing around us, and that we must change with the world if we would keep our place in it. Let us hope, I say, that they may learn this, and set to work to combat that spirit of routine, and of blind aversion to light—that anti-intellect which, as I said in 1864, is at the root of all our evils.

1867.

GENTLEMEN—I have seldom been more impressed than I was the other day, when coming suddenly into the Kinnaird Hall at Dundee I saw the vast assemblage of artisans who were listening with eager attention to Professor Tyndall's lecture on "Matter and Force." The chief outcome, I said to myself, of the long days and nights of last session has been to give a considerably larger share of political influence to men like these. Is it then so alarming a prospect? I almost think that if the illustrious Scotsman to whom the lecturer paid a well-merited tribute in his concluding sentence had been sitting by me, a suspicion might have crossed his mind that "Shooting Niagara" was not exactly a return to chaos and to night.

And yet this "Shooting Niagara" must be, even to those who believe, as I do, that Liberals have hoped too much, and Conservatives feared too much, from the immediate results of an extension of the franchise, a very grave and serious matter; and it well becomes all those who are in any degree responsible for the safety of the good ship "Britain," to look anxiously that her leaks are stopped, and

that a firm and resolute will directs her course, not only with reference to the smoothness above and the rush of the descent, but also to the dangers of the seething pool below. To drop the language of metaphor, it appears to me that the duty of all those politicians who aspire in ever so small a degree to be useful in their generation, is to devote the time which lies between this and the general election, that must follow the completion of the reform legislation, to putting as clearly and unreservedly as they can before their constituents their answer to this question, "What ought we now to do?"

The shortest possible answer to that question cannot be given in one or in ten sentences, and for this reason I will on the present occasion occupy as little time as possible in commenting on the past. The first of the points on which I wish to touch is the success of Mr. Disraeli. Now, this success is leading two different sets of people to be very unjust in dissimilar ways. One of these, fixing its eyes exclusively on the moral aspect of the governmental doings of last session, thinks it cannot speak in terms sufficiently severe of the leader of the House, while another, looking only at the power of Parliamentary management which he displayed, cannot sufficiently laud his statesmanship. The key to Mr. Disraeli's conduct is this—he is an Englishman because he *will*, not because he *must*. His outer life is identified with ours, but his inner life belongs to another race and another history. All English politics are to him only a game. Lord Derby, Mr. Bright, and the rest of them, are to the real Disraeli mere pieces on the chess-board—knights or bishops, castles or pawns. His object is to win. When he first came before the public he had not yet succeeded in keeping his outer and his inner life separate, and hence the real man was constantly coming out to the amusement of all around, not so much because what he said or did was absurd

in itself, as it must be admitted it sometimes was, but because it was out of harmony with time and place. Towards a man who considers all our political conflicts as a kind of grave jest, who believes that all our bills, whether "passed or stopped, leave England much the same," and who spoke on the 13th May, by a happy slip of the tongue, of Her Majesty's Government as "Her Majesty's company," it is quite impossible to feel the moral aversion that one does feel towards certain persons who believe that they have leapt in the dark, and done for mere party grounds a dangerous if not a fatal thing. Shall I admit it? The spectacle of Mr. Henley, a worthy man, but the incarnation of all that we most dislike in politics, not only made to do the work of Mr. Disraeli, while he fancied he was doing his own, but used as a decoy-duck to lead the most hopelessly non-sagacious of his party after him, was a spectacle so infinitely humorous, that we sometimes forgot its very doubtful morality. After all, you send us to the House of Commons to look to the political interests of the country, not to be professors of ethics. The Liberal party wanted this Reform work done, and got over. Mr. Disraeli has done it for us. If in the doing of it he has spread self-distrust and self-reproach in his own ranks, so much the better. It is always easier to fight a demoralised army. The party of resistance cannot have a better leader than Mr. Disraeli. It is not a very dignified spectacle; but, after all, is there anything particularly dignified in the two other species of leader which the party is apt to have—the one typified by the evil family which learns nothing and forgets nothing—which sees the whole world change around it without giving up one iota of its political creed—the other so well known to our own history—a man holding false position after false position always in good faith, always retreating just when it is too late to do so with credit—always liberal, as the *Scotsman* once said, "after

the fact" always obstructive, while obstruction can do mischief?—

> "Till old age and experience, hand in hand,
> Lead him to death, and make him understand,
> When he has toiled so idly and so long,
> That all his life he has been in the wrong."

"*Entre fripon et fripon,*" as the French say—As between one equivocal character and another, I, gentlemen, am on the side of the defender of the angels.

But those who sing pæans in honour of the statesmanship displayed in recent transactions seem to me as far wrong as those who perorate about Mr. Disraeli's immorality. Tact is good, and management is good, but they do not make a statesman. No man seems to me in these days, and in this country, to deserve the name of a statesman who is not in all respects abreast of the best thought of his time, and who does not steadily and with requisite ability work on to make the actualities of national life correspond with his ideal standard. Politics are, alas! not a game, though they sometimes look very like one; and he who treats them as a game may indeed be brilliant and successful, but he writes his name in water. If that is to be the fate of Mr. Disraeli, as I think it will be, there is all the more reason why in this hour of his success—a success of which we his enemies will reap the fruit—we should try, so far as we can, to sympathise with the honours which are about to be paid to him in the Scottish capital. We should try to remember his long years of struggle—the astonishing want of penetration of Sir Robert Peel—a want of penetration which the terrible night of the 15th June 1846 hardly punished too severely—for a nation does not make a man Prime Minister with license to blunder. We should try to remember his extraordinary Parliamentary power, his versatility, and the numerous small but real brilliants which are to be found amidst the paste

diamonds and glass sapphires of his writings. Above all we should remember that in so far as he has any political beliefs at all, they are much more nearly ours than those of the gentlemen who are peculiarly anxious to do him honour. For, O ye powers of delusion! what do those good souls imagine that he either has conserved, or cares one half-farthing for conserving?

I was speaking a little ago of the humorous side of the great Parliamentary chess tournament of 1867. One sees the humour of it as long as one looks at the pieces on the board and the countenance of Mr. Disraeli. One sees its tragic side when one catches a glimpse of the countenance of Mr. Gladstone. The Mephistophelic nonchalance of the one, and the melancholy earnestness of the other, would have made a fine study for an artist. I wish my good old friend, Moritz Retszch, could come back to his pleasant home among the Saxon vineyards, and give us a sketch of the two. It would form a good *pendant* to one of the most famous of his works.

The transactions of last session bring up the whole question of the limits of party allegiance. Theoretically that is a most difficult question; but practically one has rarely much difficulty in solving it. Twice in the ten years during which you have honoured me with your confidence, when in 1864, it seemed probable that Lord Palmerston would go to war with Germany, and again this year on the 8th April, I should, if the persons responsible for the management of the party had not given way, unquestionably have voted against them. As a matter of fact, I have never been obliged on any critical occasion to do so. The truth is, that unless a party is very injudiciously led, the occasions on which a man who thinks for himself, is tempted to vote against his party on a question involving the fate of a Government, are not so numerous as one might expect. Party action should be the result of a

number of forces acting more or less in the same direction. It generally is so; and whenever a considerable section of a party is strongly opposed to any course of action, that course of action is not taken. The answer is a simple one. If persons whose business it is to be the exponents of a great party are misled by the metaphor involved in the word "leader" into supposing that they exercise the kind of authority which an officer does over troops—if those whose duty it is not to listen to those not too disinterested persons, who, as Mr. Henry Taylor well points out, are apt to be the advisers of shy and proud men in power—not to lull themselves into false security by the refrain—

* * "Let us live and lie reclined
On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind"—

will do so, and will not take the trouble of finding out how far they can reckon on support, they will always be in danger of checks, if not indeed of disasters. The conduct of the household-suffrage Liberals, who left us in the Reform divisions, is perfectly intelligible. So also is the conduct of that large section of the Adullamite seceders who, when they discovered that Mr. Disraeli was going even farther than their own friends had proposed to go last year, came back and voted with their own friends. But what reasonable or logical explanation can be given of the conduct of that group of men who, having opposed to the uttermost, and in the teeth of all party obligations, Mr. Gladstone's £7 bill of last year, this year supported, through thick and thin, Mr. Disraeli's bill, which went rather farther?

These details, however, about last session, although I hope not without some interest to you, are now of quite secondary importance. Last session lies far away, and what we have really got to do to-day is to talk about next session, and the great plunge which lies beyond. Next session then I hope to see given chiefly to finish the Reform legislation, to settle

some matters about which both parties may agree, and to putting before the country, as distinctly and honestly as possible, their respective programmes. I sincerely hope that we shall have no party fighting, and that the whole of the year 1868 may be considered a time of armistice. One word with regard to the Scotch Reform Bill, and I believe I may speak pretty confidently about the state of that question as it was on the 29th July last, and therefore, presumably, as it is now. Her Majesty's Government, as I understand, considers the House of Commons, by reading the Scotch Reform Bill a second time, to have pledged itself to two things—in the first place, to give additional members to Scotland. Seven is, you remember, the number accepted by both Governments. In the second, to lower the franchise. Further, I expect that, the burgh franchise remaining as in the bill which we have all seen, the freehold franchise in counties will be in the bill of next session reduced to £5; while all attempts at interference with the Falkirk and Kilmarnock burghs will be given up. I understand that the Government still wishes to give the seventh member not to Dundee or Aberdeen, but to a new group of burghs to be called into existence; but I do not know very clearly whether it is proposed in the new bill to persevere in the proposed interference with the Haddington Burghs, or what is going to be done with Alloa. But of this I am certain, that if the people of Scotland have a very decided opinion about such questions, as the creation of that new group of burghs, the interference with the Haddington Burghs and the like, they have only to express their opinion by public meetings, by petitions, by the newspapers, and by directions given to us their members, and they will get their own way without any trouble. It is clearly not for the interest of the Government to oppose a distinct expression of national opinion on any of these small matters. The Government is well aware that it has no factious opposition to ap-

prehend from the Scotch members. It knows that we are as anxious as possible to settle the matter fairly, according to a reasonable calculation of the strength of the two parties in Scotland; and so I cannot too earnestly urge those who have a keen interest in such questions as those to which I have alluded, to take care, between this and the beginning of the session, that the opinion of the country shall be distinctly expressed.

I want also a distinct utterance about our two University seats, because on this question there will be some difference of opinion in our own ranks, Mr. Dalglish and others wishing to restrict the Universities to only one member. Now, then, is the time for the Universities, and for the Scotch people generally, to make known their will on this question also. Before the Reform legislation is settled, some provision ought to be made against the repetition of such scandals as those which occupied the Election Commissioners of last year; and, judging by the unanimous resolution of a Select Committee the other day in favour of transferring the jurisdiction in election cases to a judge of assize, this is likely to be done.

Trades-unions will have to be dealt with in the fair but firm spirit recommended by Mr. Mill and all the best friends of the working class—amply protected by law in so far as their objects, even when economically unwise, are not morally wrong, but severely punished when they interfere with that liberty in others which they ask for themselves. Recent revelations are shocking and horrible, but the atrocities of Manchester and Sheffield are rather, we may trust, the remains of old evils than the forerunners of new ones. The working classes have surely not been freed from the tyranny of guilds and corporations created by law, only to fall under a new tyranny. Freedom is strong, and will prevail here also.

The Public School Bill has been postponed from session

to session, and should be postponed no longer. The promised volume of essays on a liberal education, to be edited by Mr. Farrar, will probably give it an impulse, and show for what changes distinguished public school men are prepared. These measures, and the ever-increasing mass of our current business, may be enough for the last year of the present Parliament and of the old order. But after the plunge—what then? It seems to me that the first thing we have got to do in point of time, as well as in point of importance, is to reorganise our education. The existing constituency in Scotland is strongly in favour of this, but that is not so in England; and persons who know the new class which will be admitted to the franchise in that country assure me that it is difficult to exaggerate the increase of power which educational reformers will obtain by the direct operation of the Reform Bill. Indirectly, of course, they will be greatly strengthened by those fears which impelled Mr. Lowe to make his declaration about the importance of teaching our new masters their letters, and the means by which he was willing to try to attain that object. I need hardly say that I shall be too happy to go any length in the diffusion of education which the householder Parliament is prepared to sanction; but looking at the obstacles to be overcome, I shall be satisfied for the present with the passing for Scotland of a measure substantially the same as that proposed by the Commissioners who reported this year. I say substantially the same, to let in all reasonable amendments of detail; while for England I would accept Mr. Bruce's bill of last session as an earnest of good things to come. I am distinctly in favour of compulsory education; but it is idle to talk of compulsory education till you have efficient schools where the whole of the more necessitous part of the population may be educated, together with a strong public opinion in favour of a compulsory education. But if elementary

education were universal from Beachy Head to Thurso, as I trust it may be before the year 1900, this nation would still be but poorly furnished forth if she aspires to lead European civilisation. Our secondary education is still—allowing, of course, for some conspicuous exceptions—a tangled chaotic mass, the domain of absurdities and abuses. All this requires amendment, and several symptoms give new hope that that amendment is coming. I would point, amongst others, to the reforms lately effected and being effected at Harrow; to the recent unanimous resolution passed by the British Association in favour of the introduction of science into schools; and to the increasing number of articles in the periodical press dealing with this important subject. In England at least there is no want of funds by which secondary education can be stimulated to the very highest degree, and bridges, so to speak, built by which young persons of merit may pass from elementary schools to secondary schools, and from these again to the Universities, at little or no expense.

Our educational edifice will not, however, be such as befits the times in which we live until we thoroughly modernise and revivify our higher education. In the month of March last I pointed out at great length, in Aberdeen, before an academical audience, the improvements which seemed to me necessary in our Scottish Universities. Since that time I have been sitting on an extremely interesting Committee in the House of Commons, which has been taking evidence about the changes which are required in the great English Universities. In Scotland, what we above all want is more money; but in England it may almost be said that the streets of the University towns are paved with gold; and what is wanted is a complete change of system, which shall take away from Oxford and Cambridge their predominantly sectarian, ecclesiastical and mediæval character and which

leaving the outward form of the past, shall make their spirit national, lay, and nineteenth-century.

A large deputation went this spring to ask Lord Derby for an increased grant for the Scotch Universities. It was very influentially supported on both sides of politics, and was introduced by the most powerful of Scotch Conservative noblemen. We were not only coldly received, as the Duke of Buccleuch stated at Dundee, but the national arrogance which lies deep in the character of Lord Derby broke out in a very singular way. "You gentlemen from Edinburgh," he exclaimed, "are making a great mistake. You are attempting to do what is impossible. You are attempting to reconcile a high education with a cheap education." Now, I take it that if there is one thing of which Scotchmen are proud, and more deservedly proud, than another, it is of having reconciled in a very remarkable degree high education with cheap education. And I take it if there is one thing which all the ablest and honestest men of both parties in the University over which Lord Derby presides are trying to do, it is to reconcile high education with cheap education, and so this phrase may take its place with our Premier's statesmanlike utterance about "dishing the Whigs" and "taking a leap in the dark." They will be long remembered, and will assuredly do no injustice to his memory.

Next in point of importance comes the reconstitution of our military system, under which I include—1, The abolition of the purchase system; 2d, The improvement of the condition of the private by the revision of military punishments, a more intelligent system of discipline, and far greater hope of promotion; 3, The encouragement of professional ability; 4, The reduction of the number, and improvement of the quality, of the regular troops; 5, The formation of such a connection between them, the Volunteers, and militia, as shall make the three for defensive purposes at home as efficient as

the best Continental army; 6, The putting an end to the double government of the War Office and the Horse Guards.

I have so often explained my views about Ireland that I will compress them on this occasion into one or two sentences. I am for general disendowment, the maintenance of the national system of education, the retention of the Queen's University in its present unsectarian shape, and the throwing open of Trinity College, as we desire to throw open Oxford and Cambridge. Farther, I advocate a cheaper system of land-transfer, encouragement to leases, and an equitable compensation for tenants' improvements. Nor, if these mild measures failed to settle the land-question and pacify the country, should I shrink from more sweeping changes. Don't fancy Fenianism is killed. It is hardly even scotched. The danger is pressing. Have an Irish session as soon as you can—as Mr. Bright long ago proposed. Concede to the uttermost every just demand, but keep the peace of the country, and crush any overt attempt at resistance, Fenian or otherwise, with ruthless severity.

Lord Russell has mistaken the clock. Pray heaven his mistake may not break up the Liberal party. I for one am wholly opposed to his scheme for endowing the Roman Catholic clergy, and to the cry for giving Ireland denominational education because we have it in England.

Several questions connected with religious liberty have long been ripe for settlement. Of these, Church rates may be taken as the type, as they relate for the most part to matters small in themselves, but important from the principles involved in them. All consistent Liberals must hope that the time will one day arrive when discussions on ecclesiastical subjects will be as completely out of place in the House of Commons as they are in the Congress of the United States. But we are far away from that time. And in spite of the impulse which I trust may be given by the

troubling of the political waters that is now going on, these ecclesiastical questions are likely to torment us during the whole lifetime of this generation. There is an argument which surely ought to have more weight than it has with educated political Conservatives. They should not forget that the words—

> "Over the dumb Campagna sea,
> Out in the offing in mist and rain,
> St. Peter's Church heaves silently,
> Like a mighty ship in pain"—

are applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to more than one great European communion. They know that the disturbing influences now at work in Churches are quite as formidable as those at work in States. Such being the case, where is the wisdom of grappling old ecclesiastical systems to old political systems, so as to give political innovators all the benefit of the assistance which can be brought to them by persons who take no thought of politics, but are strong partisans of dogmatic change?

It appears to me quite certain that questions relating to land will occupy a more important place in the discussions of the new Parliament than they have done hitherto. I fully expect to see Mr. Locke King's bill carried. That bill, you know, puts the landed property of intestates in the same position as their personal property. That is to say, it abolishes the so-called law of primogeniture, leaving it free to persons in making their wills to conform or not to the custom of primogeniture, just as they please. It will be curious to see what line the new legislature will take about the much larger question of the expediency or inexpediency of allowing the creation in the future of entails in Scotland and strict settlements in England. I think it is more than likely, looking to what has happened in the rest of Europe, that an attack will be made upon those legacies of a great but dying

past; but I don't expect to see any serious attempt made in this country to prescribe the precise manner in which a man's property is to be disposed of at his death. Our people, I think, will be alive to the wide distinction between giving the power to tie up his property to any one in a way which cannot be altered, however much circumstances may alter, so as very often to produce results diametrically the opposite of those which he would have desired, and the far smaller right of disposing of his property under a state of circumstances which he fully understands.

Before I leave this question of land, which has many ramifications into which I cannot enter at present, I wish to utter just one warning. Three-quarters of an hour, on the 24th of September 1790, sufficed to settle this whole group of questions in France. Let those who think that the present arrangements of our society in these matters are to last for ever, remember that this civil revolution took place in the midst of profound peace. It was not till afterwards that other and very different questions unchained the storm-wind. Let them remember this before they set their faces like a flint against economic laws. There is much in their present condition that can be defended by economic laws. Let them fall back on those as their true line of defence, and give up whatever has nothing but use, wont, and prejudice, to defend it.

Whatever posterity may have to say about the omissions of Parliament, as 1832 made it, they will have a kind word for its fiscal legislation. I hope its successor may follow on the same path, but that it will lean rather more towards direct taxation, and it is probable that this will be the case. All taxation is unpleasant, but I prefer the robber who keeps his visor up. Not that I believe that, if our taxes are direct, we shall look so very sharply after the expenditure as some persons imagine. Nor yet because I do not feel the danger

to public faith, so clearly pointed out by Mr. Mill, which might be feared if we came too suddenly to change our system. I am speaking, however, of a gradual change, and I look to the progress of education and the diffusion of sound political knowledge as our great safeguard on this as on all other roads.

Then there is another group of questions. Is the Union Chargeability Act of 1865 and the Poor-law legislation of last session to be the last of our dealings with pauperism? The year 1867 has rather caught us napping, although we have had warnings enough. Will the next extension of the franchise find us napping still?

It seems more than probable that the good sense of all parties will lead to some attempt being made to bring the House of Lords into closer harmony with the new House of Commons, by the disuse of proxies, by insisting upon a larger *quorum*, and, above all, by the creation of life peers. The interest alike of Liberals and Conservatives counsels these measures, which would be at once favourable to progress and eminently conducive to the maintenance of time-honoured institutions. Farther organic changes may well be postponed till we have cured some of the functional disorders of the body politic.

Any attempts to exercise indirect influence over the poorer voters, and so make an extension of the franchise do anti-Liberal work, will be answered by a fierce demand for the ballot—a demand which will be strongly supported by persons who, like myself, although in favour of the ballot, would be sorry to see the householders spending their first strength in a mere attempt to improve the machinery by which work is to be done, instead of in doing actual work itself. I shall be glad to see the ballot kept in reserve as a thing to be agitated for with the whole strength of the Liberal party, if we find that we do not get our own way under the new state

of things. So, too, with the question of the farther redistribution of seats. If it can be effected by a general understanding next year so much the better, and that is not impossible, for nothing but the shortness of time prevented the Lords carrying the redistribution farther, and the House of Commons was more than prepared to follow suit; but if it cannot be done without fighting and loss of time, let us leave it alone till we see whether we cannot get some first fruits of our recent three-parts-accomplished success.

One word to any who may be frightened at the vast amount of work before us. Take up the admirable little book in which M. Laboulaye has sketched the programme of the French Liberal party. See how much more our friends on the other side of the Channel have got to do amidst how much greater difficulties, and see how manfully the best of them buckle to the work. I have said that I think the immediate results of Reform have all along been over-estimated by both parties; but I have no shadow of a doubt that, as an ultimate result, partly of this great electoral change, still more of the change going on in many minds, every institution which has only antiquity and custom to plead for it will go by the board. Sooner or later, the interests of the majority will sweep away every vestige of mere historical as distinguished from philosophical right. To those who doubt it, however powerful or highly placed, I can only say what John Huss said of the old woman, "O holy simplicity!" Let no one be deceived. We have taken a distinct step towards democracy. £6 or £7 or household suffrage are the bills which point to the same goal; and there is not much to choose between them, although, perhaps, the first mentioned was on the whole the best. Democracy lies before us on a not very distant horizon. Our duty during the next thirty years will be to prepare for it.

There are many who, pre-occupied too exclusively with

some of the coarser features of American life, look on that undiscovered country towards which they are slowly but surely moving with feelings of horror and dismay. "We see," they say, "a great spreading moorland, with a low, dark horizon. No shadow moves across its surface. No light glimmers on it. It is the plain before the valley of the shadow of death." I cannot share these apprehensions. It seems to me far from improbable that the democratic England of the twentieth century will be, on the whole, a much better place both for the rich and the poor to live in than the England of to-day. Certain I am that the wisest course for all is to accept the inevitable, and to take care that all our political and social arrangements shall be revised during the next thirty years.

With reference to what is coming, I have not left myself time to speak of the bearing of recent changes on colonial policy and Indian or foreign affairs. Another occasion may arise for this, and on the last and generally most interesting of these subjects I hope to have an opportunity of making some remarks before the end of the year. Were I to say anything at this moment, it would only be to ask some of my friends in France to re-read those pages in which, a generation ago, one whom they afterwards came to know well—the invalid of the Rue d'Amsterdam*—gave them a solemn, and, as it seems, by no means a superfluous warning. "When you hear the noise and the tumult of the German revolution, be on your guard, our dear neighbours of France, and don't mix yourselves up with the business we are about. It may work you harm if you do. Have a care not to fan the fire. Have a care not to extinguish it, for you may very easily burn your fingers! If in bygone times, in our state of indolence and serfage, we were able to measure ourselves with you, we shall be much better able to do so now in the arro-

* Heine.

gant intoxication of our young liberty. You know yourselves what a State can do in such a moment as that, and you yourselves are not now in such a moment."

AT PETERHEAD, 19*th December* 1867.

LORD CHESTERFIELD, who said so many things on which politicians do well to meditate, wrote, in a letter to his son,—"Know London and Paris well. All the rest is mere landscape." Whatever might be the value of that advice in the eighteenth century, it would not be good advice now, to give to any one who wished to understand the time in which he was living. I propose, accordingly, to-night to ask you to accompany me in a pretty wide survey; and shall try to touch, very briefly and allusively of course, on the principal points of present interest in the politics of Europe; just as I tried in my speech a couple of months ago at Elgin, to touch on the leading points of interest in our domestic politics.

The year 1867 has been very unlike its immediate predecessor. The latter will be had in everlasting remembrance, as one of the turning-points of human history. When all its other stirring events have faded from the popular recollection, its memory will still be kept green by that one tremendous day on which, strangely disguised indeed, and with war-cries not their own, the forces of progress and obstruction met to try one conclusion more, under the walls of a petty Bohemian fortress. Königgrätz has set its mark, for all time, on 1866.

1867 has been busy and crowded. It has had its fair share of important and striking events, but unless something very unexpected occurs in the few days that remain to it, it will stand to its forerunner in the same relations as the year 1067 did to the year which saw the Norman Conquest.

FRANCE.—France, which claims, and justly claims, to

be the leading nation of Europe—for our own greatness depends rather on our relations to mankind as a whole, than to mankind in this quarter of the globe—France, which would fain fancy herself to the other European nations what the sun is to the planets, has this year had to suffer even more than the usual penalties of greatness. Twice has she been on the very verge of war in defence of her cherished supremacy, first with Germany, and then with Italy.

The Luxemburg affair is too recent to have received that full elucidation which it will doubtless one day receive; but I shall be very much surprised if it does not turn out that the French Emperor was all along more sinned against than sinning. This is what I believe to have happened:—Napoleon was anxious to obtain something which might be a compensation to his people for the wounds which had been inflicted on their self-love by the victories of Prussia. The King of Holland was, for more than one reason, only too happy to be rid of Luxemburg. Count Bismarck thought that the cession of the fortress was a very slight price to pay for keeping France in good humour, and gave the Emperor to understand that he would make no difficulties. Accustomed to do things with a high hand, and misled by the success with which he had bearded German opinion in the affair of the Duchies, he thought it would be quite easy to beard it once more. Very soon, however, he found his mistake. Very soon he found that German opinion in this matter, elated by all that had happened last year; was not to be withstood. Of the two dangers—a probable war with France, and a probable revolution in Germany—he preferred to risk the former; and so it came about, that but for the well-timed labours of diplomacy, the summer might have beeen made hideous by half-a-dozen battles, as bloody but far less resultful than Solferino.

The most auspicious event in the internal affairs of the

French empire during the past year was the success of the Great Exhibition, and the concourse of rulers in Paris, which enabled the panegyrists of the nephew to say, that he had reached even a higher pinnacle of glory than the uncle, when "Talma was playing at Erfurt to a pitful of kings;" or when, as I once heard the late Prince Esterhazy describe, Napoleon I. held his court at Moritzburg on his way to Russia, amidst a not less brilliant crowd. I hope this last reminiscence may not be ominous, for the old man added in the next breath—"I saw him pass through Dresden, a few months afterwards, in a sledge with one attendant." This remarkable gathering in the Champs de Mars will remain, in the imagination of our neighbours, the most brilliant portion of a picture which has not wanted shadow. The dark background against which the Great Exhibition stands out, is formed by the commercial distress, by the embarrassment of several great pecuniary undertakings peculiarly connected with the Imperialist *régime*, by considerable popular discontent, but, above all, by the terrible catastrophe of Mexico.

That whole affair, from the expedition of Gutierrez de Estrada in quest of that panacea for the woes of his country, a European prince, has been one of the strangest which even our eventful age has witnessed. It has contained every element which can attract attention; from the depths of comedy to the heights of tragedy; from the infinite rascalities of the Jecker bonds, and the doings of the "Brethren of the Tuileries," to the execution of the descendant of so many emperors and kings. The whole story of Maximilian will soon pass into the domain of the novelist and the poet; and surely the figure of the unhappy Empress, leaving Brussels silent and unmoved, firm in her stoical composure, while her husband cried like a child, will take its place in the gallery of human sorrow in the same line as the familiar pictures of Mary Queen of Scots and Marie Antoinette.

This miserable business, in which the interests of France were so compromised, and her honour so deeply stained, has produced a very unfavourable effect on the popularity of the Emperor. The Mexican expedition was never liked, even when everything seemed to promise success; but the Mexican expedition has now become a wound, which rankles, and will long rankle, in the breast of a proud and high-spirited people. It may well be that, but for this, the Emperor would have ventured to let his own wishes have their way, and allowed his hand to be forced by the Italian Government. He assuredly is not the man to desire in his heart to uphold the tottering throne of Pius IX.; but he really, under the circumstances, had no choice. Of course, what he cares most for is the preservation of his dynasty. That is only human nature; but France is in no humour to brook even the appearance of a new humiliation, and he had no alternative but to run the risk of lighting up the flames of war in the Old World, to divert the eyes of his people from their reverses in the New.

I am not without hope that the checks with which his policy has met abroad, may have the effect of forcing him to make concessions to liberal opinion at home. Several were promised in his letter of the 19th January, and were re-promised in the speech with which he opened the Legislative Session a few weeks ago. It is certainly high time they were set about. Sixteen years have now passed since the *coup d'état*, and a generation has come to maturity which knows not liberty. Already the usual effects of political repression are seen in all directions. "The level of intellect is sinking in France," says M. Dupont-White, by no means a violent writer; and the remark seems, as far as I can judge, to be perfectly correct. One sees this not only in the absurdities of the servile Parliamentary majority; one sees it in a different way, even in the writings of some most gifted members of the

Opposition. Surely nothing but the necessity of finding the deeply-hated Government wrong in everything it does, could have perpetuated the influence of a political heresiarch like M. Thiers.

After all that has come and gone, is not France entitled to dispense with leading-strings? The old parties once so much feared, must have waxed very feeble. My only fear is, that those of us who attend to French politics may be mistaken in fancying that the views of intelligent circles in the capital are effectively shared throughout the country. A friend of mine who, although a Parisian, and one of the most distinguished men of letters in France, has had exceptional opportunities of knowing what people think in the provinces, is always warning me against being too sanguine. "Do not deceive yourself," he says; "they say down there that 'all these fine and true things which here and in Great Britain are the common property of all, are only the *Ideas of the advocates of Paris!*'"

Certain it is that disaffection has gone deeper this year than it has ever done before. It has in the metropolis reached, as a distinguished English politician said the other day, even the *Philistine* class. "Liberty was the price we were willing to pay for success," say its representatives; "but to have neither success *nor* liberty, that is rather too hard."

ITALY.—The Abbé Siéyès, when asked what he had done during the Terror, answered—"I lived."

Italy may well say the same of the year 1867. In the first days of it people had not yet done discussing what was likely to happen at Rome, in consequence of the retirement of the French, which took place, as you will recollect, in December 1866. As week after week passed by in profound peace, the travellers who had packed their portmanteaus to leave the Eternal City when the massacres began, quietly unpacked

them, and the politicians of Florence took to discussing the high-minded and characteristic letter of Baron Ricasoli to the Bishops. Soon, too, a cognate subject of first-rate importance began to occupy their attention—the great project of the Finance Minister, Scialoja, which was based on a re-arrangement of the relations between Church and State, and on the acquisition for State purposes of a large portion of the wealth of the clergy. That project did not, however, find favour with the Italian Parliament, and in the first days of February it was very clear that a storm was in the air. The storm soon burst. The "iron Baron" appealed to the country, and had fair success in the elections. But although successful in the elections, his power was not destined to last. He saw that reforms of the most sweeping nature were wanted—reforms in the Court, reforms in the army and navy, reforms everywhere. These were by no means acceptable to the King, with whom his stern, upright, but far from conciliatory subject and Mentor, is no favourite. Just at this time Louis Napoleon, too, fully expected to go to war with Prussia, and he wanted, at the head of affairs in Italy, a man on whose assistance he could absolutely depend. Immense pressure was accordingly applied to get M. Rattazzi, whose character is the most perfect antithesis to that of Baron Ricasoli, brought into an influential position in the Government. Ricasoli, hard pressed by the Deputies, offered the Portfolio of Grace and Justice to Rattazzi. It was refused. "What will you take then?" said he. "I will take the Home Office," answered the other. "That's the driving-wheel of the whole Government," rejoined Ricasoli, "and while I am at the head of the Cabinet I mean to govern." Then the Baron turned in another direction, and asked Sella to join him and take charge of Finance. Sella is a man of science, and an extremely able Minister, but his projects of financial reform are known to be of the most sweeping kind. Sella accepted, but the King interposed his veto,

and Ricasoli, seeing that the case was hopeless, threw up the game and went off, nothing loth, to the trees and vines of his great feudal castle of Broglio.

Of course the new Ministry had to deal immediately with the question, What is to be done about the deficit?—and of course it was necessary to make in some way available the overgrown property of the Church. M. Ferrara, a Sicilian political economist, who had been called to aid Rattazzi as Finance Minister, soon produced a project which differed very materially from that of his predecessor, and was purely financial in its character, making no attempt to settle the *political* question of the relations between Church and State. This scheme broke down, because, it is said, the capitalists on whose co-operation everything depended, disavowed, at the last moment, the signature of their agent, in consequence of a very strong pressure brought to bear upon them by the Catholic and Legitimist party in Paris. The Italian Government, which fondly imagined that the clergy had accepted its compromise, then hastily attempted another combination, which was, however, rejected by the Committees of the Chamber, and fell through altogether.

At last, when the heats of the Tuscan summer were getting intolerable, the Cabinet did manage to get an Act passed for dealing with the Church property. The details of the measure would have no interest for you, and it is enough to say that it was far less favourable to clerical interests than its predecessors; and that, while it will afford a not inconsiderable relief to the Italian Treasury, it will take an enormous mass of landed property out of the occupation of the dead hand, and restore it to lay uses and to commerce. It is another step on the same road on which every modern State has advanced more or less, on which we took an immense step at the Reformation, and on which, before the world is very much older, we shall doubtless take other steps. I am

happy to observe that the property exposed for sale is fetching large prices. Assuredly the Italian Exchequer wants every penny it can get.

The autumn was already very far advanced when an event occurred which seemed for a moment likely either to crown the hopes of Italy with sudden fruition, or to wreck her altogether,—I allude of course to the attempt of Garibaldi. That strange story is fresh in your memory, and I will merely say that the explanation of what occurred was, I suspect, something of this sort. Rattazzi is, as I mentioned, in the closest connection with the great wire-puller in the Tuileries. He knew the private sentiments of the Emperor upon the Roman question, and had good reason to believe that he would not be sorry to see the Italians "go in and win." Accordingly, no effectual barrier was opposed by the Government to the designs of Garibaldi, although it would much have preferred settling the matter with France without his interference. All round the frontier of the Papal States the authorities winked very hard. All through the kingdom committees were formed and money was collected. Garibaldi then fired the mine, but unhappily with scant success. The operations of the Volunteers were not followed by very brilliant results; and the rising in Rome, on which so much depended, although much more serious than is generally supposed, came to nothing. If the subjects of the Pope had shown any effective desire to free themselves, if a great insurrection had taken place in the city, the Italian army might have been pushed on to Rome, and the French Emperor might have been able to say to his Catholic subjects, "You see the thing is perfectly hopeless; the safety of the Holy Father is guaranteed by the King of Italy, but the cessation of the temporal power is an accomplished fact." All, however, turned out as badly as possible, and Napoleon was put in a position in which he could not choose but interfere, without

running the risk, as I said before, of appearing to suffer such a check as might have endangered his dynasty.

Italy has been, of late, so interesting to us all, that I should think it necessary to dwell at some length on its position and prospects, if I had not had an opportunity of saying what I had got to say on these subjects in the recently published number of the *North British Review*, and if my opinions, as there stated, had not been pretty generally circulated amongst you through the local press. I may add, however, that it appeared to me, when I was in London a fortnight ago, that those persons of my acquaintance who are in the closest relations with Italy were by no means sanguine. The difficulties of the Government of Florence have been terribly increased by the high-handed policy of France. In all quarters of the country, disturbers of the peace, Bourbonist, Muratist, Anarchist, begin to raise their heads. "If," said to me lately an Italian, whom I seldom find wrong, "Rome is much longer withheld, I foresee that all the devils will be unchained in Italy."

The recent speech of M. Rouher in the French Corps Législatif is, after making every allowance for the effects of the Gaulois eloquence of M. Thiers, simply astounding; and if such are really the dispositions in which the vacillating mind of Napoleon III. at present finds itself, it would be absurd to expect good from a conference or any similar device. It is hard, except for those who know how strong the "churchwarden party," as About calls it, has all along been in France, to believe that the imbéciles who howled at Jules Favre and Ollivier are the sons and grandsons of the men who lived through the Revolution. Rightly did Delmas say to Napoleon I., when asked what he thought of the great ceremony in Notre Dame on the 11th April 1802: "It was a fine piece of mummery. Nothing was wanting but the million of men who have died in order to destroy what you

have now re-established." Happily the priest party in France has quite a peculiar genius for provoking terrible reactions.

SPAIN.—1866 found Spain under the rule of O'Donnell, who died a few weeks ago at Biarritz, but who was, while he lived, the head of the Conservative-Liberal party, and perhaps the least unsatisfactory of the political soldiers who have ruled in the Peninsula during the last few years. The year opened quietly, but in the very first days of January, General Prim raised the standard of revolt at Aranjuez, the famous pleasure-palace of the kings of Spain, which lies to the south of Madrid, on the road to Toledo, putting himself forward as the champion of the *Progressista* or Whig party.

The attempted revolution entirely failed. O'Donnell met it with much firmness, but not with any excessive rigour, and Prim, with those of his followers who were most compromised, escaped into Portugal. In most countries such an event as this would rather have strengthened the Government, but Spain is the land of surprises; and early in July the O'Donnell Cabinet, after suppressing on the 22d June, with an iron hand, one of the most desperate military revolts which ever broke out, even in Spain, gave way to a palace intrigue, and Narvaez, the head of the *Moderados* or Tories, stepped into the place which his rival had vacated. Of course there was a new military revolt, after the accredited Spanish fashion, the chief centres of which were Madrid and the fortress of Gerona, in the north-west, but it was mere child's play compared to the terrible rising of June, and again the insurgents failed to obtain general support. Now began a true reign of terror, far the worst which has been seen in Spain since the days of Ferdinand VII. The atrocities of the *coup d'état* of the 2d December 1851 in Paris were everywhere repeated and surpassed. Military executions, banishments, the gagging of newspapers, were the order of

the day; and all this was done, not as in France in the real or supposed interests of a panic-stricken society, but in the interest of old-fashioned absolutism and bigotry. Amongst other things, education, long a bone of contention between clericals and liberals in Spain, was re-disorganised, and means adopted by which all liberal teaching in schools could be summarily stamped out. These proceedings did not pass without protest. On the 28th December, 137 deputies signed an address to the Queen, remonstrating against certain unconstitutional proceedings of Narvaez. They had not to wait long for an answer. The Cortes was instantly dissolved, and on the 29th, Rios Rosas, an eminent member of the Union-Liberal or Conservative-Liberal party, and Speaker of the Lower House, was arrested, and sent out of the country with twenty-eight galley-slaves, while the next day Marshal Serrano, the President of the Upper House, who, using his privilege as Grandee of Spain, had gone to remonstrate with the Queen, was likewise taken into custody, and carried off from Madrid.

You see, then, that Spain, although she was preserved by her fortunate position at one corner of the Continent, from being involved in the great contest which will make 1866 ever memorable, had not, as the saying is, her sorrow to seek, even if we leave out of account her blunders on the Pacific sea-board, and the anxieties with respect to her negro population in the Antilles, into which she has been plunged by the collapse of the slave power in North America.

1867 began under sufficiently gloomy auspices. The same detestable system has been continued, with some little slackening perhaps just lately, which may, however, be more apparent than real, and with some little effort to establish a better financial position. All this severity is, of course, preparing a terrible reaction, and paving the way for the over-

throw of the last Bourbon throne. No one need care about that, but it is also blighting and blasting the young shoots of progress in Spain, and throwing back that magnificent, but most unhappy country.

In the course of the autumn an armed protest was made against the dictatorship of Narvaez, and some smart skirmishing took place in Arragon and several other provinces. This business is still involved in mystery. There seems to be no doubt that the strings were really pulled by Prim, but Prim never appeared on Spanish soil, and if any satisfactory account of his conduct has been published, it has not reached me. He is said to give out that the success of the enterprise was only prevented by a garrison, which had promised to pronounce against the Government, not having been true to its word. As it was, the most conspicuous leader who took part in the rising was General Pierrad, a man of secondary importance, and who is disqualified, by extreme deafness, from being an efficient commander. He was deeply compromised in the desperate affair of the 22d June, and is said only to have owed his safety to the friendship of the Duke of Alva, a name which Mr. Motley's readers may smile to see in connection with the escape of an insurgent.

The rule of Narvaez and his able but perfectly unscrupulous lieutenant, Gonsalez Bravo, is bad enough; but behind them there are people worse than themselves, and it is quite on the cards that some day, or rather some night in the small hours —for that is the classic time for Spanish Ministerial crises— a new palace intrigue may culminate, and the telegraph may inform us next day that there is a Pezuela Cabinet in power, which would mean that an attempt was going to be made to revive, as far as possible, all the worst abuses of the worst times. If the Inquisition itself did not find a place amongst them, it would be no thanks to the clique which such a Government would represent.

I wish I saw, on the other hand, anything like a prospect of a really Liberal Government, but just at present the horizon is very dark. Prim is, alas! no Espartero; and there is no evidence that Espartero himself, even if he were thirty years younger, could give Spain those ten years of internal peace and intelligent Liberal rule which she wants in order to give her a fresh start. What was said by Mr. Bubb, our envoy at Madrid in the days of Alberoni, holds perfectly true to this hour,—"As low as Spain is, there is no nation can so soon retrieve itself."

Meanwhile, for want of these same ten years, things go steadily from bad to worse. Mr. Graham Dunlop, our consul at Cadiz,—for whose intelligent reports those who care about Spain always watch with interest,—speaks as follows, in a paper laid before Parliament last August:—

"The uncertainty and nervousness produced by political events in Madrid create distrust in the outports. People do not know to-day what they may be forced to recognise as law to-morrow. They will neither sell nor buy as they would under a more settled rule. The wealthy hoard their money, and the poor are ill off from its not circulating. Transactions in commerce are limited to what can be accomplished without credit, and at very short dates; and foreign trade is often stagnant in Spain, because merchants cannot afford to be devoid of money should any serious political event or change take place. . . . .

"The worst of these changes of 'drama' seems to be the inevitable recurrence of useless bloodshed, demoralising and cruel. Spain, in her present half-populated condition, can ill spare the loss of a single life; but the long uncertainty which precedes the raising of the political curtain—which uncertainty returns the moment the curtain falls—is fatal to the steady and material progress of Spain."

PORTUGAL.—Cross the frontier, and enter the country of him whom the Spaniard of Byron's day thought of as "the Lusian slave, the lowest of the low," and things are much more cheering. Portugal suffered terribly during the last generation from internal conflicts, but of late—thanks perhaps not a little to the Coburg good sense which has ruled in high places—she has been getting on better, and now an influential minority in Spain has taken for its watchword, "Iberian union under the House of Braganza." I do not know what may one day come of that idea. Certain it is, that the true interests of the Peninsula and of Europe point to an incorporative union between Spain and Portugal, but as yet the proposal seems to an onlooker to be quite premature. As late as 1864, when I was last in Spain, I was told by a professor at Madrid that he found the greatest possible difficulty in getting a book which he wanted from Lisbon, and that, for all practical purposes, there was hardly any capital in Europe with which it was not easier to communicate than with the city at the mouth of the Spanish Tagus. Since that time the railway has been opened throughout; and that great harbinger of political change, which has done so much to unite Italy, will probably soon cause things to put on a different aspect.

In the first years of this century there was no country oftener visited by English travellers than Portugal. You recollect how large a place that country fills in the first half of "Childe Harold;" now, however, the name of Portugal hardly ever occurs, either in our literature or our newspapers. The last document proceeding from that country which has excited very general attention in Great Britain relates to a subject which is deeply interesting to many worthy persons. It relates to that beverage which, as the old epigram has it, killed, by superseding claret, the spirit of the Caledonian. The author of that celebrated saying took too gloomy a view; but the revelations of Mr. Lytton, Her Majesty's Secretary of

Legation at Lisbon, as to the manufacture of port, are nevertheless sufficiently alarming.

From another report of Mr. Lytton, who, by the bye, is the same person whose poems, published under the name of Owen Meredith, have attained a just popularity, and who has, I see, just published two more volumes under his own name, I take the following paragraph. After speaking of the want of common roads as feeders to railways in Spain, Mr. Lytton says—

"Much of the scenery of Portugal, decorated with the vegetation of the East and West, and uniting as it does the lavish luxuriance of the tropics with the hardy healthfulness of the north, is, I think, unequalled in beauty by any other country. I know of no other region in Europe where, in the enjoyment of a climate mild but not debilitating, gentle yet withal robust, the traveller can breathe the breezes and pluck the heather of Scotland upon hills that shelter the palm and aloe; and I have little doubt that, if they could be reached without a long and fatiguing journey, the groves, mountains, and mineral springs of this country would soon become places of European resort. Influx of wealthy visitors, increased luxury and elegance of life, larger expenditure of private fortunes in the country, facilities for transit and transport, native manufactures rendered accessible to home markets, home markets placed in greater intercourse with foreign skill and ingenuity,—all these influences, whenever they can be brought into simultaneous activity, will doubtless enrich the revenue of the State, by stimulating the industry of the population and emancipating the resources of the country. A thorough reform of the Customs Act, if accompanied by the construction of good roads into the interior, will doubtless tend to hasten such a result. These objects appear to be desired by the Government, and if the average tenure of office by Portuguese statesmen were longer than it is, much, I think, might be expected from the disposition evinced by some of the present

Ministers to attain them. But when it is borne in mind that for many years those who administer the finances of the country have had to meet an annually increasing deficit out of limited resources, a glance at the proportion now borne by the proceeds of indirect taxation to the annual total of revenue will suffice to indicate the difficulty of largely reducing an immediate source of income which cannot perhaps be immediately replaced."

HOLLAND.—From the Iberian Peninsula it is a natural transition to that small but glorious country which wearied out the power of Spain when it was at its highest, and, by the combined influence of religious and political freedom, exhausted, as Schiller said, "the treasures of the golden Peru." The last twenty months have been an anxious time for Holland, but they have gone by without in any way diminishing her power or European position. Early in 1866, the Ministry of M. Thorbecke, the hitherto recognised leader of the Liberal party, was overthrown, not, I must admit, without some blame on his part, and was succeeded by a new Liberal combination under M. Van de Putte, also a man of great merit and ability, but of a quite different type from his predecessor. There have, I am afraid, been of late a good many dissensions in the Dutch Liberal party, as indeed there are apt to be in Liberal parties all the world over. These dissensions ended in Holland in 1866, much as they did, about the same time, in another country with which we are not wholly unacquainted, by the Liberals going out altogether, and the Conservatives coming in. A Conservative Government, however, in Holland, as, indeed, possibly elsewhere, legislates with a pistol at its ear; and, if not too long continued, may be very innocuous. And so it has been with the Government of Baron van Zuylen, which has, indeed, managed its chief business, the conduct of the Luxemburg affair, very tolerably. Here, too, a parallel

will, I doubt not, suggest itself to your minds. The Luxemburg scrape was not of the Cabinet's making. Luxemburg belonged to the King, not the country of Holland, and negotiations were opened in the first instance with the Royal House itself. The position of the kingdom was, for a month or two, the reverse of agreeable, and its danger, real or imaginary, added fresh fuel to the enthusiasm which had made Dutch patriots rush to enrol themselves in Volunteer corps as soon as the war broke out in Germany. So far as I can learn, the best minds in Holland have never shared the popular delusion that they were going to be eaten up by Prussia. There is something almost ludicrous, although the inhabitant of an island so liable to panics has, perhaps, no right to smile, in the notion of a country with a great history and a distinguished European rank putting herself on a level with the mere Hanovers and Bavarias, and imagining that the same logic which made Prussia dangerous to them should make her dangerous to Holland. At the same time, there was a good deal to be said for the Dutch Volunteer movement, into which it would be out of place to enter at present, and, as long as it does not attract danger by provoking a powerful neighbour, I wish it all success. The true policy of Holland on the Continent is, however, I am convinced, to lay herself out, as much as possible, to be friendly and useful to Germany; to break down all unnecessary artificial barriers, such as a different system of coinage and the like; to trust for her continued separate nationality to natural causes, and not to the expedients of fear. I can conceive, in spite of all talk about the Dutch fleet, few things more supremely inconvenient to the best interests of Germany than obtaining possession of Holland; and if any one whispers to me Schleswig-Holstein, I can only say, that if he sees any sort of parallel between the two cases, he seems to me utterly and entirely to misconceive the position of Holland.

With the exception of the Luxemburg business, the year 1867 brought to Holland no events of which I need speak. No party has yet found itself strong enough to deal decisively with the one great unsolved political problem, just at present before the country: that is the Colonial difficulty—the difficulty of Java. Whenever any proposal is made for dealing in a bold way with the question—How should the system under which Holland's great possessions in the Eastern seas are governed be altered?—the Chambers reflect on the burden that might be thrown on a country, already very highly taxed, by the loss of the Colonial revenue; the Chambers, I say, reflect on this, hesitate, and do nothing effectual. What that question is, I must not pause to explain; but if you want to see a clear, popular outline of it, read an article, written, I believe by a gentleman who is, or was, resident in Holland, for the *North British Review*, about a year ago, and entitled *A Dutch Political Novel.*

Within the last few weeks the Ministry has been defeated by a very small majority, I think three only, after a most acrimonious debate on the Luxemburg affair, in the Second Chamber; but parties are too equally balanced for the moment to allow us to expect any great results from this.

BELGIUM.—The hopes of those who, in opposition to a very prevalent opinion, trusted that the affairs of Belgium would go on as peaceably under Leopold II. as under his father, have not been deceived. The old Ministry remains in power, M. Rogier and M. Frère-Orban still navigating the vessel, although there are some changes among the subordinate members of the crew, and the very last telegrams speak of a crisis. The country is steadily improving. The Liberal party is still just strong enough to overcome the resistance of the clericals; but the party of the Syllabus is very powerful, and Belgian Liberals sometimes say in moments of despondency, "The Archbishop of Malines is our real king." One after another,

nevertheless, the most approved ideas of philosophic statesmen are passing into Belgian legislation. The eyes of the filibustering school of French politicians, have, for a time, been directed towards other frontiers; and if the neutrality of Belgium ever requires to be defended by arms, which may, I trust, never be the case, her friends will assuredly find, unless some great change takes place in her, a client worthy of their support.

SWITZERLAND.—The Statesmen of the second decade of this century wholly failed in forming into a political whole the jarring elements of race and religion in the Low Countries. Long before, a wise man and great genius, Marnix of St. Aldegonde, had tried in vain to do so. Even under the fiery breath of Spanish persecution they refused to be annealed. A somewhat similar experiment has succeeded better in another part of Europe. In Switzerland, Protestant and Catholic, French-speaking, German-speaking, and Italian-speaking populations contrive to live together in close political union. The politics of Switzerland are full of strange surprises for the student, and are very far from being without interest. It is only now and then, however, as in 1847, 1856, and 1860, that they mix with the main current of European affairs. The Swiss event which has, in the year that is drawing to a close, approached most nearly to the dimensions of a European event, was the extremely warlike Peace Conference at Geneva, which formed the comic prelude to the recent Italian tragedy. Geneva is one of the most curious places on the Continent. It is a sort of representation in miniature of the politics of this quarter of the globe, and the head-quarters of the most extreme political opposites. You may spend your morning with the reddest of red republicans, and your evening with people who are as like an Eldonian Tory as anything now to be found in real life.

The little republic lives with the fierce and palpitating life of an old Greek democracy, and James Fazy is, or I should rather say was, about as good an example of the old Greek popular chief, as it would be easy to find. He it was who blew up that luckless Peace Congress, which, by its extreme violence, threatened to lose him the support of the Catholic party which is now so powerful in the old city of Calvin. Wild as were the harangues, frantic the absurdities, of many speakers at the Congress, some wise words were uttered, as, for example, by M. Schmidlin of Basle; and no politician can quite afford to overlook, in these days, the sentiments expressed, even by the most raging leaders of the European revolution.

The *Saturday Review* recently, and most truly, pointed out that there were now symptoms of a connection between some of our own working people in the south and the troublers of Israel on the Continent; that Chartism was passing into Mazzinianism. There is no sort of danger to be apprehended from that, if our politics take henceforward a distinctly liberal colour. If they don't, I should advise those whom it may concern to hoist political storm-signals without much loss of time.

I have not observed in our English papers any notice of a project, which was seriously entertained on the Continent, of having last autumn, probably at Brussels, a sort of conference, to be attended by members of the different legislative assemblies of Europe, for the purpose of talking over questions connected with their respective military establishments, and the possibilities of lightening the burden of the taxpayer by a partial disarmament. I do not know whether any immediate practical result could have arisen from such a meeting, probably not, but it would have brought together a number of persons who reverence the name and work of Mr. Cobden, and might have sown seeds to germinate in the future. It fell

through, chiefly because, in the existing relations with France, the German deputies did not see their way to attending.

DENMARK.—The calamities of 1864 fell not the less heavily upon Denmark that they had been, to some extent, of her own seeking. After the war there was a painful interval, during which the future policy of the kingdom seemed very uncertain. Ere long, however, the people, who are thoroughly sound at heart, set to work manfully to adapt themselves to their altered position. From a population of over 2,600,000, they had fallen to 1,700,000, but then they had got rid of a dependency which was the reverse of friendly, and had taken away all motive from Germany for interfering in their affairs, I will not say, by any means, for ever, as I shall presently explain, but at least for as long a time as statesmen who follow the wise maxim of Sir George Lewis, that "cure is better than prevention," will care to look forward to. The chief supports of Denmark are agriculture and seamanship. We have a strong interest in both. I have seen a statement in a work, usually very trustworthy, that the introduction of our Scotch plough into the little kingdom in 1856, had worked quite a revolution in its farming, and certain it is that the dealings of Denmark with Scotland are very much larger than with the rest of the United Kingdom.

"Scotland," says Mr. Petre, in his report presented April 1866, "absorbs the greater part of the Danish exports to Great Britain. Taking the most important items, such as butter, bacon, flour, dried fish, and oil-cake, the exports to Leith were in the aggregate three times greater than the whole of the exports to Newcastle, Hull, and London. Of the 39,617 head of cattle, including sheep and pigs, exported, 26,754 went to Leith."

It is clear from other passages of Mr. Petre's report that the commercial activity of Denmark has suffered far less than

some might have been led to expect. "One of the natural consequences of the separation of the Duchies from Denmark has been," he says, "to divert the export trade in cattle and agricultural produce from its ancient channels, and to create an active export trade from the Jutland ports, Aarhuus and Aalborg, and at the same time to increase that branch of trade from Copenhagen to Leith, Newcastle, Hull, and London. For the first time direct and regular steam communication has been established between the ports of Jutland and Great Britain." We must not, however, expect too much. No one can read M. Gallenga's *Invasion of Denmark*, without seeing that the odds in the future against the Danes are very great.

Although reduced, however, to a humble position in the political world, the countrymen of a dramatist like Oehlenschläger, a sculptor like Thorvaldsen, of *savans* like Oersted, or Schouw, or Eschricht, to say nothing of the group of distinguished men who have had so great an influence on archæology, have, I trust, much good work to do.

SWEDEN.—The idea of a united Scandinavia, extending down to the frontiers of German Schleswig, has a charm for many minds, has been much talked of, and sung about, in the three northern kingdoms, and would, if it could be carried out, have obvious advantages. Can it be carried out, however? Will the statesmen of Sweden ever consent to have anything to do with the Cimbric peninsula? Will they not fear the constant risk of entanglements with Germany more than they will desire the increase of apparent strength, which they would derive from a closer connection with Denmark? Would the Danes really like, when the moment for decision came, to subordinate Copenhagen to Stockholm? Would Germany give up her desire gradually to extend her influence over the whole of Jutland any the readier that it formed part of a

Scandinavian union? I am afraid the wish to "brizz yont" is as strong in the mind of the Fatherland as it was in the mind of the old Scots laird of whom we have all heard. Let it be as strong as possible, it will not, however, come to much unless the natural course of things works for it. Alas, however, in spite of the new commercial movement alluded to by Mr. Petre, the natural market for Jutland lies to the south of the German line, and we know how strong a bond is created by material and commercial interests. Then too, is there not some reason to fear that the idea of Scandinavian union came too late into the world? As a political, and not merely a literary idea, I think it can scarcely be traced beyond 1843, and had not German influences obtained before that date too great a hold to be successfully resisted?

The year 1865 is the commencement of a new era in Scandinavian history. It was in that year that enlightened public opinion, backed by the intelligent prince who rules in Sweden and in Norway, succeeded in breaking down the opposition of the Swedish nobles and clergy, and transforming the clumsy old four-chambered Parliament of Sweden into a two-chambered Parliament after the modern fashion. It is odd enough, that amidst all the endless talk that has gone on during this year and the last about representative reform, there has not been, to the best of my belief, a single article in any English periodical of importance about this interesting event in a neighbouring country. Our indefatigable neighbours, the Germans, have, however, not been so remiss, and a full account of the whole peaceful revolution has been given in one of their periodicals, *Unsere Zeit*, for 1866, which perhaps it might still be worth while for some one to translate. This great and sweeping measure of organic change was long delayed, as well by cumbrous political forms as by hostile interests and conservative prejudices.

When the month of December 1865 arrived, which was to

bring the momentous decision, the popular anxiety grew very deep. All depended on the vote of the nobles, for the decision of the burghers and the peasants was quite well known beforehand, and the clergy had announced that they would be guided by the vote of the nobles. A very long debate took place in a House extraordinarily full, as many as eighty-eight speakers delivering their opinion. At last a decided, but not very large, majority pronounced in favour of putting an end to the old order. It is strange how history sometimes repeats itself. There is a passage quoted in the *Annuaire des Deux Mondes* for 1866, from a speech made on this occasion by Count Henning Hamilton, a nobleman whose name betrays his origin, which is curiously like the famous Union oration of Lord Belhaven.

This great reform is not the only one which recent years have brought to Sweden. It was shortly preceded or followed by improved naval administration, improved army administration, improved communal administration, nay, even, to some extent, by increased toleration. Intolerance is, you know, the darkest spot on the escutcheon of Sweden, as well as on that of Norway. But in these countries, as elsewhere, the spirit of the age is gradually mining the foundations of bigotry.

It has remained for the year now passing over us to see another great step taken on the road of improvement. Up to 1814, Norway was dependent on Denmark. In that year she was torn from her old connection, and joined to Sweden, the two nations forming henceforward an unique political combination, being federally united under a common king. In history, in tendencies, in character, they are very unlike each other. Norway is, with the exception of Switzerland, the most democratic country in Europe, while Sweden lived, as I have pointed out, till quite lately, under a semi-mediæval dispensation. It would be difficult to exaggerate their heart-burnings and jealousies. At one moment, in the first decade after they

became connected, they almost came to blows. Recently, however, the influence of the Scandinavian idea, and a sense of mutual dependence, have led them to desire a closer union. A Committee, appointed in 1865, has, I see by the newspapers, presented a project for the realisation of their wishes. Under it, Norway more especially would gain great advantages, and be put almost, if not quite, on a level with her larger and more populous neighbour. We, who once stood in somewhat similar relations to another country, may, as well from fellow-feeling as from political motives, send our good wishes across the North Sea to a country which is so near to this,* the easter-most point of Scotland.

There is naturally no love lost between Sweden and Russia. It was to the former country that Finland owed her civilisation, and the more sanguine spirits of Scandinavia have sometimes dreamt of winning it back from their mighty neighbour. Nothing, however, is likely to make Russia ever relax her hold on a province so near to Petersburg. "It was not," said Lord Ellesmere, in a striking sentence, "for the advancement of the Greek Church, that the blue and yellow Finland regiments of Gustavus lay dead in their ranks at Lützen." True, but so far as one can see at present, their fatherland has been finally transferred from Western to Eastern Europe.

GERMANY.—North Germany has been occupied, ever since the close of the struggle with Austria, in framing the constitution under which she is, at least for a time, to live, and in establishing convenient relations with the Southern States which still remain without her pale. She is now no longer part of a loose and singularly clumsy *federation of States;* but a *federative State,* analogous in many respects to the United States of America. She is governed by two Assemblies; one consisting of forty-three members, of which

* This Speech was delivered at Peterhead.

seventeen are nominated by Prussia, twenty-six by the other States, and the other elected by universal suffrage, working in electoral districts. This constitution is, however, more democratic in name than in reality, for great nominal power, and still more real power, is placed in the hands of the King of Prussia, and exercised through the Chancellor of the Federation, Count Bismarck, who is certainly not inclined to let his master's power rust for want of use. As might be expected, parties in this newly created body are in a somewhat chaotic state. In a list which has been put into my hands I count eight different fractions, besides forty-nine members unclassed. As there are only 297 in all, you will see that this implies no small confusion. Prussia, meanwhile, has of course still her own Parliament, which is elected in a totally different and much more complicated way; an anomaly which will not, I presume, be very long maintained.

The chief interest of German politics during the last few months has consisted in watching the varying strength of the attraction exercised over Bavaria and the other still independent States by the united States of the North. After various vicissitudes, the negotiations of the summer and autumn have ended in the conclusion of ties, as well military as commercial, so close, that for many purposes, and above all for defence against the stranger, we may henceforth think of North and South Germany as one country.

Some persons shake their heads and say, "Well! what has the world gained after all? There is just one more great military despotism." That is not so. North Germany, although politically less free than we could wish to see her, is far on the road to a completely constitutional state of things. The liberal influences which pervade society there have become far too strong to be much longer held in check. Even Bismarck has found this out at last, and has only managed to keep up repression in one direction by opening the safety-

valve in another. *Through Freedom to Unity* was the cry of all the best minds in Germany; and the way by which they wished to walk was the nobler one. Destiny, however, seems, so far as we can judge at present, to be playing into the hands of those who cried *Through Unity to Freedom.* The difference is a vital one for our generation, but it cannot be called a vital one for the generation that will succeed it. Amongst many wider and deeper influences which are working out the future liberty and greatness of Germany, it would be absurd to omit the happy accident, which seems to promise, ere long, to the Prussian people a monarch well worthy of their highest esteem. I have observed, in my intercourse with Germans during the last few years, that the reputation of the Crown Prince has been growing steadily. A good many years have passed since, in one of the darkest moments of the recent history of Prussia, a very dear and valued friend of mine, now no more, thought it his duty to write to the present King, who was then only heir-presumptive, a very strong letter upon the state of affairs. The present Crown Prince, then a very young man, so far from being offended by the old soldier's plain speaking, took an early opportunity of saying to him, "Not only my father, but all our family, are much beholden to you for what you have done." Similar stories reach one from all sides: nor will those who know how malign an effect more than one Royal Lady has exerted, during the last fifty years, in Germany, consider it an immaterial circumstance, that the Crown Princess has succeeded in obtaining for herself a quite extraordinary and exceptional popularity in the land of her adoption, and that not among the mob of courtiers who worship Aurelius to-day and Commodus to-morrow, but amongst those who look upon Kings and Princes simply as institutions to be judged of by their effects; cherished when they are useful and beneficent, treated like the rulers of Hanover and Hesse when they are useless or evil. There are probably no

two lives in Europe on which so much, at this moment, depends. It is only to be feared that people will expect impossibilities, and be annoyed when they see that the accession to the throne of a wise King and Queen does not produce a golden age. Nothing of the kind is to be looked for. Their accession will be one good influence more amongst, as I have said, other wider and deeper influences.

It is a curious subject of speculation, what would have been the result of an armed conflict last spring between France and Prussia. It is said that Moltke, one of the greatest living military authorities, believing war sooner or later to be inevitable, was anxious that it should break out on the occasion of the Luxemburg affair, knowing as he did that Prussia was, but that France was not, prepared. I know that this view with respect to France was also held by Frenchmen of great importance. Now France is much better prepared, but I trust that the wise sentiments with regard to Germany, which are to be found in a recent at least semi-official pamphlet, and which were repeated in the Emperor's speech the other day, are beginning to gain ground amongst his subjects. There is no fear of Germany being the aggressor.

I do not mean to say that Germany will not have *velleities* of conquest—far from it. I have already pointed out one direction in which she will very probably extend herself; and the thrifty, laborious, and educated Teuton will steadily win his way amongst the Sclave populations on his eastern frontier, and even in Hungary. Nothing, however, is more unlikely than the rise of a power with really military instincts in Germany. The very men who conquered at Königgrätz hated the hard necessity which tore them from their homes, and "heaped curses on the *one man's war*." Prussia owes the position which she gained last year much more to the cultivation of the arts of peace than to mere military drill. For years Austria had been one vast camp, but yet her power

shivered like glass before the assault of a citizen soldiery. There are many analogies between the relative position of these two great powers, and of the parties who were lately contending in the North American Union. Patient and steady labour, in every department of life, characterised the Northern victors on both sides of the Atlantic. Every one begins to have a glimmering of what Prussia has done for the education of her people; but it is the same all through. Look, for instance, at M. de Laveleye's recent article on the progress of agriculture in Prussia. The spirit that seeks to turn even the sands and marshes of the Mark of Brandenburg into a garden, the spirit that established, amidst the depth of humiliation and disaster, the grand University of Berlin, and that has, within the last few months, found time to create, both in the capital and in Bonn, scientific establishments which are the admiration of the world, has but imperfect sympathy with the vulgar glories of the battle-field. For a country situated like Prussia, a large army has been, and will for some time still be, a matter of necessity; but she has at least hit upon a plan of military service which makes every war but a defensive one profoundly unpopular.

No feature in the constitution of the United States of Germany has drawn forth better merited praise than the large space given in it to the regulation of material interests. The old Zollverein, or Customs union, was the beginning of the realisation of the political union which we now see; and the threat of exclusion from the new commercial union was the chief weapon by which the treaties, which put the military power of the Southern States at the disposal of the King of Prussia, were forced on the obstinate nobles of Bavaria.

It cannot be too continually borne in mind that all that has lately happened in Germany has been the result of causes long in operation, and which have been steadily tending towards the union, of a large part at least, of that country under

the supremacy of Prussia. Count Bismarck has attracted all eyes, and those who have not watched what has been going on since the meeting at Heidelberg in 1848, to prepare the way for the Frankfort Parliament, attribute far too much influence to him and his policy. Count Bismarck, and all those whose names have come recently so prominently before us, are but the foam on the crest of the wave, which catches the eye and diverts the attention from the mass of the wave itself.

When I last had occasion to speak at length on this subject, I regretted that I could not point to any English publication which gave a full account of the remarkable man whom I have just named. Since that time, however, two articles have appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, by Dr. Max Schlesinger, which contain ample information on his past career. His genial and unscrupulous, but, above all, arrogant and overweening character, has stamped itself deep on the history of our time. One could wish that so great and good a cause as that of German Unity had been associated in the minds of foreigners with a name which recalled less sinister recollections.

AUSTRIA.—Very different is the character of the man who, in the words of the political poet Anastasius Grün, "holds the helm of the war-ship Austria." "Facile, sanguine, with light rash hand," pre-eminently *fin*, Baron Beust belongs rather to the French than to the English or Teutonic type of statesmen. During the last few months one of the best informed of English newspapers has more than once been led into the mistake of representing him as a person of most liberal and constitutional views and antecedents. The lights that illumine for us the field of German politics are often somewhat dim, and when the shades of evening are pretty deep, it may not be unnatural to mistake the wolf for the sheep-dog. As a matter of fact, all through the reaction that

followed 1848 and 1849, the sympathies of Baron Beust were consistently on the wrong side. He leant to Austria as against Prussia, to Russia as against the Western Powers, to the high Tory and Feudal party as against the mercantile, literary, and learned elements, which form the backbone of the German Liberal party. In the internal affairs of the Confederation he favoured, in opposition to the views of all the most sound-headed of his countrymen, the hopeless scheme of erecting a third power in Germany which should hold the balance between Austria and Prussia. In 1864 he thought he saw his way to effect this object, and became the spokesman of German, as distinguished from Austro-Prussian policy, in the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein. That policy was no doubt in the main correct, but then it was utterly hopeless unless Prussia would take it up, and the previous policy of Baron Beust, and others like him, had been to widen the breach between the smaller States and Prussia, not to group them around Prussia for the attainment of a common German object. We all know what was the result. The Saxon Minister's policy was no less unlucky in 1866 than it had been in 1864, and it ended in as nearly as possible taking the crown off the head of the learned and amiable monarch whom he served.

Now Baron Beust finds himself acting on a wider field, and has the satisfaction of attracting to himself the eyes of all Europe. Will he succeed? That is a question which no man will be bold enough to answer. We may be sure, however, that his old principles and connections will not stand in the way of his doing what seems to him for the time expedient. He was the Minister of the reaction in Saxony: he will bid for the support of those liberal elements which are now obviously the strongest in Austria. He will do all that an exceedingly clever, keen-witted man of the world, who comes from outside and has no prejudice, can do; but

whether the ship he steers weathers the lee-shore, along which she is running, will not depend in any very great degree on his sagacity.

The crowning disaster of Königgrätz was by no means a subject of unalloyed regret to the soundest part of the population of Austria. However much they may have regretted the humiliation which had fallen upon the Imperial arms, they felt that now the detestable old system, rudely shaken by the war of 1859, had received a blow from which it could not recover. Their belief turned out well founded, and no long time elapsed before it became clear to the Kaiser that terms must be made with his subjects, both German and non-German. The year and a half which has passed has not been misspent. Already on this side the Leitha, the river which divides the domains of the Hungarian crown from the rest of the Empire, a vigorous constitutional life has begun. One more nation is learning the compromises, the patience, the moderation, which are necessary in Governments like our own; while, on the other side of the Leitha, the grand old Hungarian Diet, the most venerable assembly on the Continent, the nearest thing in the world to the Parliament of England, is fully re-established in its ancient rights. "The wheel has come full circle;" the aspirations of the best Hungarian Liberals before the great tragedy of 1848 and 1849 are at length amply fulfilled. As the eye of the political student wanders over Europe, it falls on no figure so worthy of profound respect and admiration as that of the great jurist-statesman whose name will be for ever associated with the firm assertion in youth of his country's just demands, with the long, infinitely anxious, and often apparently hopeless struggle against adverse fortune, as with the grand and final triumph. There is no one claiming, justly or unjustly, the title of statesman, who deserves so warm a welcome in this the classic land of freedom; and it will assuredly be a great

misfortune if Englishmen have not, before he dies, an opportunity of doing honour to the man who, of all others on the continent of Europe, has shown most of the spirit by which our own liberties were won. The name of Francis Déak deserves a place with that of Pym and Hampden; and I do not know any other contemporary name, either in or out of England, which does.

From the fact that in the contest between Austria and Prussia, as well as in that between Austria and Italy, I always took most strongly the anti-Austrian side, some might be inclined to imagine that I looked with favour on the idea put forward in many quarters, that the breaking up of Austria would be advantageous to human liberty. I do not do so. I have never done so. I can quite understand that if the system of *dualism* now introduced in that Empire should fail, nothing would be more natural than that the German provinces should become united with the rest of the Fatherland. That may well happen; but the continued existence of Austria as a great Danubian power seems to me likely to be desirable in any time to which the politician can look forward. I am no enemy of Russia, but I do not want to see Russia coming farther to the west.

In the summer of 1847, when a boy just going up to Oxford, I spent some time in Austria, and went, among other places, to Pesth. Revolution was in the air. The most inexperienced observer, unless he were violently prejudiced in favour of the existing state of things, could not avoid seeing that Austria was about to experience a political earthquake. After my return to England I read everything on which I could lay my hands which in any way bore on the state of things in that Empire; and so was prepared to watch with an almost personal interest the exciting drama which soon followed. Our little world of Oxford was connected with the Hungarian war by an odd incident. The Polish General

Bem, whose brilliant campaign in Transylvania in 1849 afterwards excited so much attention, had come to Oxford in the end of 1847 to give lectures on Mnemonics, and was staying there when the news of the February revolution in Paris reached that peaceable place. Some Oxford resident met him in the street, and told him the news. "Oh, then, there will be work for me," he said; and he did not, as you may suppose, long remain in the Academic shades. On the 26th April 1849, I moved in the Union, that mimic Parliament where so many of the speakers of this generation were trained, "That this House, while it desires the re-establishment in all its strength of the Austrian empire, as advantageous to Europe, nevertheless sympathises with the revolted Hungarians." I am afraid some of my friends, to whom the details into which I was obliged to enter were rather tiresome, maintained that I ought to have said the revolt*ing* Hungarians. Nevertheless, much to the credit of Oxford, then ultra-Conservative, the motion was carried. I think I can't be wrong in saying that that resolution—passed, you see, by no very august assembly—was one of the first resolutions passed in favour of the Hungarians in this country. There were many later; but too many English sympathisers, led away by the dreams of exiles, or over-excited by their indignation against the outrageous Russian intervention, went too far, and imagined that it would be to the advantage of Hungary to be independent of Austria altogether. I never did so, and the compromise which has been come to in the year 1867 represents substantially what I wished for in the spring of 1849.

The *Times* has done English readers good service this autumn, by giving repeated and very full accounts of debates, both in the Austrian Reichsrath and in the Hungarian Diet. The battle over the unlucky Concordat with Rome gave ample evidence, if evidence was wanted, of the ferment which is going on, alike in Church and in State, all through Central

Europe. These signs of coming change would, I think, have made Lord Macaulay, if he had lived, reconsider the famous New Zealander passage in his essay; as they certainly entitle that bitter enemy of the Roman Church, Professor Laurent, who has ably confuted the opinions of Lord Macaulay to which I allude,—to ask, in louder tones than ever, "Who is the Conqueror?"

Not less curious, from a different point of view, were some of the scenes at Pesth. I do not know if it attracted the attention of others, but the picture, in the letter dated November 6, which appeared in the *Times* of November 14, of the great but unhappy commander, Arthur Görgey, leaning against a column in the common gallery, and listening to a rhapsody in honour of Kossuth, seemed to me extremely remarkable. The incident was like an acted sentence of Tacitus.

The state of things which is now established, or all but established, in Austria, has some analogies with the relations of England and Ireland before the Union; Vienna corresponding to London, and Pesth to Dublin. I need not say that there are infinite differences, and that, difficult as it was for the British empire to get along under those circumstances, Austria will find it still more difficult. Of all her troubles, the worst are the conflicting interests of her Sclavonic, her German, and her Magyar populations. All her Sclavonic populations are drawn towards Russia by the tie of a cognate language, and several of them by allegiance to a common form of faith; and in estimating the strength of the last of these bonds, you must not forget that those Protestants who hate the Roman Catholic Church most bitterly, do not hate it in quite the same way in which the Greek Church does. Some one ought to write a monograph on the rivalry between Rome and Moscow, in its bearing upon the relations of Austria and Russia, and upon the Polish question. Every now and then a corner of the veil is lifted, as in the paper

which Mr. Newdegate moved for last session, in which Prince Gortschakoff explains the reasons of his Government for breaking off relations with the Roman Court.

The politics of the frontier lands between Christendom and Islam, between Eastern and Western Europe, will fill a large space in our newspapers before very long; and it were well that, before passions are aroused, people should try to form some clear notion about them.

RUSSIA.—While half the world was flocking to the Exhibition in the Champ-de-Mars, Russia was also having her Exhibition. The gathering at Moscow was small in comparison with that at Paris, and the objects exhibited had not only a limited interest, but were many of them extremely rude. The whole thing seems to have had a good deal the character of Madame Tussaud's gallery. I suspect, however, that the political significance of the Sclavonic Exhibition was far greater than that of its cosmopolitan rival. You are aware of course that the idea of a great Sclavonic empire has long been a favourite one in Russia, but this year that idea has for the first time obtained a sort of official recognition. For many months previous to the commencement of last summer, Russian agents had been scouring the Sclavonic provinces of Austria and Turkey, with a view to gather articles for this Exhibition,—not, however, with that view only. It was part of their mission to fan everywhere the fires of Sclavonic discontent, and to point to the aggrandisement of "Holy Russia" as the true remedy for all Sclavonic ills. The focus of Sclavonic discontent has now for some time been the grand old city of Prague, which during the last year or two has begun to have more political importance than it has had since the days of the Thirty Years' War. From that place, from Croatia, from Belgrade, active leaders of the Sclavonic movement thronged last May across the Polish frontier to

Warsaw. There, and at every stage on their journey to St. Petersburg, they were met by Russian officials, and welcomed with addresses of congratulation, while both at the Polish and Russian capitals they were entertained at splendid banquets and festivals. Their pilgrimage ended at Moscow, the Russian Rome, the Mecca of the whole Sclavonic family. There no great amount of time was spent in surveying the Exhibition of Sclavonic arts and produce, which had nominally brought the visitors together; but much time in swearing eternal friendship, and in superheating their historical and linguistic enthusiasm. Amidst the universal chorus one voice alone was mute, the voice of Poland; and the single untoward incident of the visit would appear to have been the speech of the famous Bohemian politician Rieger, in which, although taking strongly the Russian side, he ventured to put in a word for that unhappy country. This as nearly as possible led to a disturbance, for on this subject Russian ears refuse, as I know to my cost, to listen to any reserves or qualifications. The speech was, however, immediately answered by another from Prince Tcherkaskoi, one of the bitterest and most formidable foes of Polish nationality; and the excited feelings of the meeting having been thus relieved, no mischief took place. From a Russian point of view the Sclavonic congress of Moscow seems to have been a complete success, and the delighted visitors returned to sing the praises of the Czar, and pave the way for future political action, from the frontiers of Saxony to the head of the Adriatic, from the head of the Adriatic down the Save, and along the line of the Balkan. All this looks as if the Russian Government were once more thinking rather of foreign conquests than of domestic improvement. I fear this is so to some extent.

The turning-point in recent Russian history was the ill-judged Polish insurrection of 1863. From the moment the world got rid of Nicholas, up to its commencement, things in

Russia had been steadily improving. Not only had the serfs been emancipated, and thereby a prodigious deduction made from human misery and degradation, but reforms were being carried out in every direction, under the auspices of an amiable and relatively enlightened prince. Fast, however, as reform was moving, public opinion moved still faster. The tone of the Russian press and the conversation of intelligent Russians everywhere were becoming more and more liberal. Of course, all this was displeasing to the Russian Tories; but they would have gnashed their teeth harmlessly, if the Poles could have been satisfied to have asked only for good government *under* Russia, and not have raised the standard of rebellion *against* Russia. The revolt of 1863 put into the hands of the Russian Tories the very weapon which they wanted. "See," they cried, "what comes of your fine Liberal opinions;" and so successfully did they raise this cry that they were enabled for a time not only thoroughly to discredit their adversaries, but even to force the Imperial House to yield to their dictation. Before the year was out, the Grand Duke Constantine himself was spoken of, in the ultra-loyal *salons* of Moscow, as little better than a Girondin. The mistake which is usually made by French and English politicians in dealing with the Polish question, is that they look only at one side of the shield. That is an easy and quite delightful way of doing business. No generous mind can avoid sympathising most deeply with the Poland which alone we westerns know—the Poland of the upper class. It is the nation of brave men and beautiful women *par excellence*. Its history has been one long romance; its recent existence has been one long martyrdom. So far all is simple and easy. The question does not seem difficult; nay, rather, there seems to be no question at all. It is not until one puts one's-self on the other side, and looks at it from the Russian point of view, and also, perhaps, from the point of view of the Polish

peasantry, that the tremendous difficulties of the problem rise before one, colossal, and, as far as human sagacity can see, for the present insurmountable.

You have all probably seen an account in the newspapers of a letter by an American Fenian, in one of the magazines. That letter is filled with absurdities; but suppose it to be true, suppose that the Irish people had determined at any price to break off the connection with England and Scotland, what should we say? We should say—"You shall have the best government that we can give you; we shall not leave you the ghost of a grievance, but we must beg you to understand that separation is not to be thought of,"—and, if it were attempted, we should put it down in every corner of the island, not, I hope, with more severity than was necessary, but put it down we should at any cost.

Now, for Russia, the continued possession of at least the so-called Western Provinces—for with regard to what is known as Congress-Poland I will not express an opinion—is a matter of life and death. She can no more allow Wilna to be in the hands of an enemy than we can allow Dublin; and depend upon it, she will hold on by those provinces with a tenacity we ourselves could not surpass. Her sense of their enormous importance explains, I do not say justifies, her wholesale expropriation in those provinces. With Congress-Poland, as it is called, the case is somewhat different. Supposing the attempt which has been made since the insurrection to gain over the peasantry to the Russian side, by vast material benefits, should wholly fail, and supposing Austria should see her advantage in answering the Russian Pan-Sclavist intrigues, by proclaiming the resurrection of Poland; or supposing Germany were, in some unforeseen crisis, to find her advantage in doing the same, it is quite possible that there might once

more be a Poland independent of Russia: but if nothing of this kind happens, and if the vast Russian nucleus of the empire holds together, I think we must say, in the words which were once addressed to me by one of the greatest of French statesmen, "The case of Poland is in every way sad; but, what is saddest of all is, that there is no hope."

If I were blamed for the gloomy views which I express on this question, I could plead in justification that, belonging to a country that had no direct interest in the matter, I had had very unusual opportunities for forming an impartial opinion. I was one of the very few persons, and, so far as I am aware, the only Englishman actively engaged in politics, who had, during the insurrection, an opportunity of hearing from their own lips the ideas of the leading representatives of every section of opinion upon this important subject. From the accredited representative of the Polish National Government in London to the prime mover of Russian ultra-patriotic fanaticism at Moscow; from Czartoryski at Paris to Mouravieff in his own lion's den at Wilna; from the most active English sympathisers with the Polish cause in this country, to the Englishmen who, officially or non-officially, were watching the various phases of the contest at Warsaw or St. Petersburg from Berg to Wielopolski, to say nothing of the spokesmen of other less important fractions of opinion, I heard what in 1863 and 1864 every one had to say, and formed my own judgment to the best of my ability and with a sore heart.

It is curious to observe how completely that country, about which, four years ago, all the journalists in Europe were writing, has passed out of notice. This is a pity, for one day, in some form or other, the question will turn up again, and the public mind will then be found as little able to deal with it judicially as it was four years ago.

The present time would be a very favourable one for readers in this country to re-peruse Mr. Sutherland Edwards's

two excellent books, and to read Mr. Day's *Russian Government in Poland,* which, having come out long after the insurrection, and being on the unpopular side, has met with far less notice than it deserves. In that work, at page 174 and elsewhere, people will have an opportunity of studying the models after which the Fenian proclamations which we have lately read were framed, and will learn who first sullied the cause of liberty by a system of political assassination not unworthy of Philip II., or his even more murderous father.

Some soreness of feeling has of late been excited in Germany by the attempts of the ultra-Muscovite party to Russify the Baltic provinces. In these provinces the upper class is German, while the lower class is composed of Letts and Esthonians, people, that is, speaking languages allied respectively to the Lithuanian and Finnish. Ever since they became united with Russia, the upper classes of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, have, thanks to their superior intelligence, furnished the favourite *employés* of the Russian Government. They have had an administration and social relations in many respects different from the rest of Russia, with not a few immunities. Of late, since the flame of nationality began to burn so fiercely at Moscow, their peculiar advantages have been very much curtailed, and they have been vexed enough to lead, if Russia were as weak as Denmark, to another very pretty quarrel.

The Polish insurrection was used, as I have pointed out, by the Russian Tories to discredit Liberal ideas in Russia, and they have been assisted by the exaggerations of some able writers like Herzen, by the numerous real and supposed political incendiary fires which broke out in 1862, and by the spread among the half-educated of absurd and anti-social notions, to which the name of *Nihilism* has been given ; *à propos* of which the constitutionalist Prince Dolgoroukoff has neatly said, that there are two kinds of Nihilism, "the Nihil-

ism of those who have nothiug in their pockets, and the Nihilism of those who have nothing in their heads." The idiotic and most wicked attempt on the life of the Czar in April 1866 still farther helped on reactionary ideas, which received an immense impulse from the Imperial rescript of the following month, drawn up in an ultra-conservative sense, as well as from the press prosecutions that followed. I would fain hope that those are mistaken who consider that that rescript was the commencement of a gloomy period in Russian annals, and that we are to think of the first half of the reign of Alexander as a sort of "Quinquennium Neronis." Europe may comfort herself in this way:—Unless Russia goes on to become a really civilised State, she will always remain what she is now, except for purposes of defence, a comparatively weak state. If she were to introduce Free-Trade, reform her frightfully corrupt administrative system, push railways and schools everywhere, reduce her army, and keep profound peace for twenty years, I for one should be very sorry to bet sixpence against her being in Constantinople before the end of the century. A correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* lately reported a conversation which he had had with Count Bismarck, who was for some time at St. Petersburg. "People do not know what Russia's real position is," said Count Bismarck; "I do. Russia has Eastern proclivities, and would like perhaps to assert them; but she can only do so in a great manner. Her position precludes her from half-measures, and she is really not able to commence a long and costly war. Russia has a great future before her; she has elements of strength far surpassing those of any other empire or kingdom. She is almost unassailable; but she is like a strong and healthy man attacked by indisposition. If he will only lie by for three days, and keep quiet, the native vigour of his constitution will triumph over his illness, and he will rise as strong as ever. But if he will insist on going out, walking about, and trans-

acting business abroad, just as if he were well, his malady will probably lay firmer hold upon him, and bring him to serious straits. Two or three days in the life of a man mean ten, twenty, or thirty years in the life of a nation." Never were truer words spoken than these.

The old fear and jealousy of Russia, which was felt so strongly and so justly before the Crimean War, is beginning to crop out again in many directions. One day an able writer on international policy, with a sublime calmness and contempt of facts, excludes her altogether from the European political State-system, and the next a warning voice points out that Russia has only to advance straight along the main axis of her power to drive a wedge between Austria and Prussia, right through the centre of Germany. We have hardly done trembling at this mechanical metaphor, when a shout of "Russ! Russ!" comes from the farthest east, and energetic editors, in wild excitement, bid us play once more "the great game of Central Asia." Nor have we done turning their warnings over in our minds before we hear of new designs on the heritage of the sick man, and catch a glimpse of a whole vista of complications in the Eastern Peninsula.

I am one of those who, cherishing no illusions about Russia, feeling as much as any one can do how great a misfortune it is to Europe that the larger eastern portion of it should be so far behind the west, should be indeed, in many respects, as has been said, "a middle thing between Asia and Europe,"—believe that there are enormous elements of good in her people, and that the policy of the West should be, not to play into the hands of that party in Russia which wishes to keep her isolated, but in every way to increase its relations with and its influence upon her.

Very different is our duty now from what it was when the power of Nicholas was hanging like a black cloud all over Germany; when the influence of the Czar on the minds of the

German Tories was so great, that they were little better than the skirmishers in advance of his armies,—so much so, that I remember hearing a great Berlin *savant* reply, in the spring of 1854, to the question, "Do you read the *Kreuz Zeitung?*" "No, I don't understand Russian enough." All is changed since then, and liberal opinions would have already made greater progress in Russia, if France and England had been as well-informed as they were generous and enthusiastic in 1863, and if Ministers, instead of chattering about what they had a *right* to do under the treaties which closed the Napoleonic wars, thereby exciting hopes which they could not fulfil, had come straight down to the House of Commons and explained clearly to the country the whole practical difficulties of the Polish question, giving their full meed of sympathy to a noble and unhappy people, but pointing out that the insurrection was, under the existing conditions of Europe, wildly hopeless. A speech from Lord Russell or Lord Palmerston fully explaining, in the session of 1863, what many political students had painfully learned before the session of 1864, would have saved Poland a good deal of misery, and English diplomacy some humiliation. And pray, what is the use of Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, if they can't or won't guide the opinion of the country at critical moments?

About the influence of Russia in Germany we may now make ourselves easy. Germany will take very good care of herself. What the politician has now to watch with interest are her intrigues in Austria and Turkey. I have already mentioned the possibilities that I think may arise with reference to the first of those empires, and I shall come to the next presently; but first let me say a word with regard to a point of special interest to Great Britain,—I mean the advance of Russia in Central Asia. Here we find ourselves in presence of two extreme parties—the alarmists, who cry that the house of our next-door neighbour is already on fire; and

those who, so far from sending for the fire-engines, are for throwing the keys of the place where they are kept into the nearest well. Little interest attaches to either extreme, but the views lying between them should, I think, be carefully scanned.

There is no want of able pleading on both sides to enable us to decide with adequate knowledge about this momentous question. Within the last three years we have had three articles dealing with it in the *Quarterly*, two by a great Asiatic statesman, one by another but not less distinguished hand. We have had an article in the *Edinburgh*, which is known to express the views of Sir John Lawrence himself. We have had two in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, by a highly intelligent and well-informed Frenchman; and we have had one as late as the 15th October, in an important German periodical, by Vambéry, the Hungarian traveller, whose extraordinarily adventurous journey to Bokhara in the disguise of a dervish so lately astonished Europe.

I am still of opinion, as I was in 1864, that English statesmen should keep in view the expediency of arriving one day at an understanding with Russia, and becoming close allies in the East. We can do each other much harm by hostility, and we have nothing to gain by it. England wants no more Asiatic conquests, and if Russia is not satiated by annexing Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand, which she will no doubt one day do, surely China and not India will be the goal of her ambition. For the present it appears to me that the policy of Sir John Lawrence, with its "masterly inactivity," is distinctly the right policy. Let us watch with the greatest care the progress of Russia. Let us treasure every scrap of authentic information that comes from Central Asia; but let us keep well away from what has been truly called "the fathomless gulf of Affghan politics." There will be time enough, even if everything takes the worst possible turn, to discuss whether it would be advis-

able to turn Kandahar and Herat into great fortresses in advance of our frontier, as has been suggested by one whose opinions on such a subject, whether we share them or not, should ever be listened to with the greatest respect.

Let us consolidate our own power in India by improved government. Let us develope our communications, and complete, as soon as financial arrangements will permit, a railway to Peshawur. If we do this, we may await with perfect calmness the approach of Russia, even if she draws near with no friendly feelings; but, without at all desiring to see any premature negotiations about limits, I distinctly hope that before the Russian and British outposts face each other, events in Europe may have taken such a course as to remove any ground of rivalry or bad blood.

TURKEY.—From Russia we pass naturally to the great but disorganised empire which lies to the south of it; and first we come to those outlying provinces to the north of the Danube, which still remain under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but are connected with his dominions by no more substantial tie. The question which every one must feel inclined to ask about Roumania is, whether there is or is not sufficient strength in it to form an independent State. Appearances have, I am afraid, hitherto not been in its favour. Amidst much outward seeming of liberalism and enlightenment, there prevails all through its society a certain reckless, not to say scampish, tone, which made one who knew them well say, that those provinces were the Cremorne Gardens of Europe. As well for the sake of the good influence which would be exerted upon the Rouman population of South-eastern Austria, one of the least civilised of the races which inhabit that empire, as for the sake of the cognate and still more backward populations in Turkey, it is to the last degree desirable that this country, with its "soft bastard Latin"-speaking inhabitants should be-

come, what it conceivably might be, an outpost of Western civilisation amongst the Sclavonic peoples.

The present prince comes of a good race. He has found, as has been truly said, the machinery of government made to his hand. It will be for him to introduce a new spirit, and a hard task he will have. In Couza's time there were, I think, twenty ministries; that is to say, one about every four months. Justice was to be bought as freely as any other article of merchandise, and mercantile credit hardly existed. The people, however, have never had a fair chance. Now at last they have got the fair start they so long asked for, *union under a foreign prince*, and Couza, whatever may have been his sins, at least got rid of the system of semi-serfdom under which the peasantry lived, and took vast districts of the country out of the clutches of the monasteries of Athos and the East. Roumania has a large territory of enormous fertility, and great mineral wealth, a ready access to the markets of the world, and the goodwill of all Western Europe. Let us see what she will make of these advantages.

Crossing the river, we reach Bulgaria, a province of which the West knows little, and of which it is to be hoped it will not soon know more by the breaking out of an insurrection in the spring of 1868. I observe, however, that there is a good deal of apprehension about this in well-informed quarters.

Till recently, very little has been ascertained about the real state and political aspirations of the Bulgarians, who inhabit, not only Bulgaria, but a vast region in the north of Turkey, and whom some good judges believe to be the "coming" race of the Eastern peninsula. Indeed, it is remarkable how much less we know of European Turkey than of some much more distant regions. A few months ago, however, a report containing much information about the Bulgarian race, drawn up by Mr. Vice-Consul Blunt of Adrianople, was laid on the table of the House of Commons. It is to be found in a Parliament-

ary paper containing accounts sent by our Consuls and diplomatic agents to the Foreign Office, with respect to the treatment of Christians in Turkey.

I wish to give what additional publicity I can to another passage from this Parliamentary paper, a report by Mr. Longworth, a man very much respected, and a strong philo-Turk. The following extract seems to me most ominous :—

"While the Christians have thriven, and their prosperity is proved by their personal appearance, and their having possessed themselves of the best houses and the most eligible sites in the great towns—I have of late years visited such as Varna, Tournova, Rustchuck, and Kustendje—the Turks seem to be gradually shrinking from public view into the obscure and unfrequented suburbs. Still, their demeanour is that of stoical endurance. Poorly clad, badly housed, and indifferently fed, if they still look the masters, it is merely because neither they nor the Christians can help themselves in the matter. Still it must be with a gloomy and bitter feeling that they compare their present with their past condition, that they ask themselves or others what further hardship or humiliation fate can have in store for them. They hear, no doubt, what all the world is constantly repeating, that they are sick and dying out of the land, to which indeed they never had a just title, being encamped upon it. They know better than that however ; they know the price their forefathers paid for it, and that their title-deeds are just as good as those of the bravest people on the face of the earth. What is worse, if driven to it they would willingly pay the same price over again. Why therefore should they not once more have recourse to the means which their Maker has peculiarly gifted them with—bold hearts and strong hands ? Why not revert to 'the good old plan, that those shall take who have the power, and those shall keep who can'? Would not this be better than the

lingering death to which the world so confidently dooms them, or to a life spent in unavailing efforts to unlearn the most cherished traditions of the past? Why then are they prevented from doing this? Simply because, as I in my conscience believe, they are not only a brave, but a docile and religious people, and they have been taught to think that the honour, the good faith of their Sovereign, their Padishah, is engaged to the Governments of Europe, and cost them what it may, as assuredly it has cost them much, his word must be kept to them."

Higher up the great river we find the powerful and growing principality of Servia, with more than a million of inhabitants, animated by the most bitter hostility against their old master, and still suzerain, the Turk. When I was in that country, and, indeed, up to last year, the Porte had still the right of garrisoning Belgrade and other strong places, but that right has now been taken away—justly I think; though of course, from a Turkish point of view, it was a great sacrifice to give up a place connected with so many national glories as the stronghold which frowns over the mouth of the Save. Nor can it be denied that, by giving up the fortress, the Turks unbridled a headstrong and dangerous enemy. The Servians are much more awake than the Bulgarians, and have learned the art of pulling the strings of public opinion in the West. The Bulgarians are, however, more numerous, and have, some who should know tell me, more of the qualities of a ruling race. On this I express no opinion, but it is clear that the Servians are extremely energetic and extremely self-conscious. I remember a Servian saying to me, "Not England, not America, is freer than we." They are, to the north of the peninsula, what the Greeks are to the south, *Pholades*, very weak to look at, but which can, nevertheless, bore through rocks on which the dash of the storm-wave produces no apparent effect. If there is really any serious mischief afoot

for the spring, they are pretty sure to have a hand in it, as are their restless co-religionists the Montenegrins.

The most important event in the history of Turkey this year was the visit of the Sultan to the West. Not that, in spite of all the stories we heard, it is possible that he can have had any very deep impressions made upon him by what he saw; but the mere fact of such a visit taking place marks the commencement of a new stage in the history of his house and people.

The question that is really of interest for all of us is, Can the Barbaric Empire hold together in spite of the disintegrating processes going on all through it? Or, if not, can it break up without involving all its wide provinces in a mist of blood, and making clear the path for Russia, before Russia has attained such a point of internal development as might make her advance, if not beneficial, at least harmless?

Almost every man who goes to the East now-a-days comes back either a violent philo-Turk or a violent anti-Turk, much to the distress of those who, like myself, wish to look at the Eastern question objectively, and to be as little as possible affected by opposite currents of mere sentiment. Perhaps annoyance at the distinctly philo-Turk policy of Lord Palmerston, and all the troubles that came out of it, drove us a little too much in the anti-Turk direction, and if so, now is the time to be on our guard lest the reaction carries us too far the other way. It is a moment to wait and to watch, rather than to dogmatise.

I have, with the best will in the world, never been able to share the enthusiasm that has been felt in some quarters for Cretan independence, although, so far as the interests of Turkey are concerned, it seems to me that the true policy with regard to that island was summed up in the remark made by Omar Pasha to a friend of mine, "I am sent here by

my master to put down the rebellion, and put it down I will; but when I have done so, I think the best thing would be to give it a kick and send it flying."

GREECE.—All through the continuance of the insurrection there has appeared in the *Times* a series of letters from Athens, which every one believes to be written by a man, who, originally an ardent phil-Hellene, knows Greece better than any foreigner living, and has, in addition, historical powers of a very high order. Mr. Cobden is reported to have said in an unlucky moment, what I am sure he did not really believe, that a single number of the *Times* was worth the whole of Thucydides; but what if the modern Thucydides is writing for the *Times?*

I never see anything about the Eastern question which looks truer than the doctrine which this writer is always preaching. Take, for instance, his letter which appeared on December 7:—

"The scheme of annexation by aggression having failed ignominiously, prudence counsels that endeavours should be made to extend the power and influence of Greece by the progress of improvement and the consolidation of good government. A policy of peace might secure to the Greeks increase of wealth, population, and industry, accompanied by the national power and political influence that in our age are inseparable from a progressive state of society. It is true that this policy does not offer all the attractions of political gambling; it requires patience, but with patience and prudence it would place the Hellenic kingdom in the position of a growing commonwealth, with an increasing population, in the midst of countries where fertile districts, long depopulated, are just as ready to reward cultivation as the plains beyond the Atlantic or at the antipodes. The example of a people enjoying the blessings of self-government under a stable con-

stitutional monarchy, would win for the Greeks more glory in civilised Europe, and enable them to make more extensive conquests in the East, than the army, the navy, and the propaganda which Greek Ministers have been vainly endeavouring to organise."

All this will seem to many at home mere "talking Utopia." But those who are familiar with the depopulation of the richest lands, from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, know that the first nation in the East which can make agriculture profitable, and whose agricultural population shall begin to increase on a colonial scale, will have solved the Eastern question. "Each period of man's history has its own impulse. King George cannot put himself at the head of the Greeks like an Alexander, but he may make great conquests as the personification of a nation's progress; he may become the *oikistès* of the recolonisation of an old world."

Greece has hitherto shown no inclination to take good advice of this sort. It is most disappointing and disheartening to see that a country, to which we all wish so well, is making so little progress. Look, amongst other things, at brigandage.

All that was said upon this subject by About, and is so frequently repeated by the *Times'* correspondent from Athens, is confirmed by the most recent travellers, even those who look most hopefully on the future of Greece. A member of Parliament who was there a few weeks ago, was told that it was out of the question to go from the capital to Marathon. He was told that it was *not impossible,* with an escort of five men, that he might get through from the capital to Corinth. He was told that in going to Pentelicus he had done rather a foolhardy thing; and the worst of it is, that this villany is almost openly supported by the most influential persons. A short time ago the son of a Greek merchant, residing at Patras, was seized and held to ransom by the brigands from the

opposite coast of the Gulf; and who do you suppose was the go-between who arranged the ransom? Why, the member for Lepanto. Just fancy a respectable citizen of Peterhead or Fraserburgh being carried off by bandits, and my friend, Mr. Dingwall Fordyce, negotiating the terms on which he was to be restored to his family!

The one thing which seems to have succeeded in Greece is elementary education. It is the only country one ever hears of, in which it would appear that children really like their lessons; but when the education, primary or secondary, has been imparted, the country offers no career except political intrigue. Hence the only Greeks who succeed are the transplanted Greeks,—those who leave their country. As merchants in foreign lands they are most prosperous, not only in the Mediterranean, but even amidst the skilled and fierce competition of London and Manchester.

The state of things is anything but cheering. A well-meaning, but utterly inexperienced King; Parliament really powerful, but corrupt and anarchic; all the first elements of civilisation yet to be created in many parts of the country; roads wanting; bridges wanting; corn brought from Turkey or the Black Sea ports to one point, while at another, not twenty miles off, it is rotting in the fields; no security for life or property; a system of taxation irredeemably and confessedly bad, but with no power strong enough to change it; a climate deteriorating from the destruction of the woods, and no police or public opinion to prevent any shepherd burning down the first tree he finds in his way, if he chances to want a fire; a few rather prosperous sea-board towns, and political talk *ad libitum;*—that is about the nett result of the phil-Hellenic struggles of the last generation. No, not quite so, for a sort of general notion of liberty would seem to have been diffused through the whole peninsula. There is seed sown that may produce good fruit. Perhaps it would

be fairest to try to look at Greece as we look back at any country in the Middle Ages. What is going on would not seem so very bad, if it were not for the glaring contrast which it presents to the ordered civilisation of the West. We might sum up, perhaps, the whole state of things in Greece and Turkey in the words of an eminent political economist,* who was asked on his return from those countries some years ago—"Well, what do you think of Greece?" "Oh, it is as bad as can be," he answered. "And what of Turkey?" "Oh, it is *worse than can be.*" This remark would require to be further qualified by the observation, that in Turkey the tide of national life is ebbing, while in Greece it is flowing. That very resignation on which Mr. Longworth dwells, in the striking passage which I lately read to you, is not a hopeful sign. There never was a truer saying than the famous German one—"*Money* lost, little lost; *Honour* lost, much lost; *Heart* lost, all lost."

If Greece, herself thoroughly civilised, could spread her influence over all the countries to the east of her, in which she was once so powerful, which of us would not rejoice; which of us would not be glad to see the symbol of a higher civilisation above the symbol of a lower one, the Cross over the Crescent? But so long as she makes such wretched work of it in her own provinces, so long as she disappoints our every hope, who can wish her to rule even in Thessaly and Epirus, to say nothing of Byzantium? For a great and independent Hellas we could all become enthusiastic, as so many of our fellow-countrymen did in the twenties, as more than one near neighbour† of this good town did—"the pilgrim of eternity" included; but for a Hellas which was to be the

* Mr. Senior.

† The allusion is to General Gordon of Cairness, which is near Peterhead, as well as to Lord Byron, who lived for some time both in Banff and Aberdeen, and whose mother's property of Gight is not far off.

mere cat's-paw of a court at the far end of Scythia, who could possibly get up any classic raptures?

We come round, then, after a long circuit, to our own country. What has been her course during the entanglements and perplexities of the past year? It has been for the most part like that of a large vessel dropping down a river amidst a crowd of boats crossing her bows in all directions, and her moderate achievements may be summed up in the single statement, which really conveys no small praise, that she has hurt nobody, and nobody has hurt her.

A writer in the last number of the *St. Paul's* magazine, who speaks with authority, is very severe upon the foreign policy of Lord Stanley. Although in party matters a co-religionist of the gentleman alluded to, I cannot share his view. True it is that Lord Stanley is not a great Foreign Minister. There are few departments of public affairs to which he has devoted so little attention as to our foreign relations. Lord Stanley, however, could hardly fail to succeed reasonably well in anything, however new to him, to which he seriously devoted his clear, powerful, and patient intellect. He has, I think, succeeded reasonably well under very difficult circumstances.

The writer in the *St. Paul's* complains that the position of England in Europe has been lowered of late. Doubtless it has, but from very different reasons from those which he assigns. At the Peace of 1815, England was much farther in advance of several European nations than she is now. We have advanced in many ways since then, and advanced rapidly; but Germany, for example, has advanced much more rapidly, and position, sooner or later, follows real power. Then, again, we have lost much influence by the absurd line which we have taken on many foreign questions. We lost something by the Austrian sympathies of a large section of London society in 1859. We lost much more by the frantic way in which so many influential people took part with the South in the

American quarrel. We made matters still worse by the silly anti-German ebullitions of 1864; and it is well known that it was "more good luck than good guiding" that prevented some of our public men committing themselves to the Austrian side in last year's conflict. If the war had lasted a month longer, I have no doubt that we should have had denunciations of the "nation of d—d professors" in great abundance.

In order that this country should take the place which she ought to have in the councils of Europe, she wants three things:—*Increased strength, increased insight,* and an *improved system of communication with foreign nations.*

Increased strength we can only obtain in one way, by carrying out reform in every direction; by using the recent electoral change to help us to work out other and greater changes. As to what these should be, I laid my views before you in outline at Elgin; but the changes which are in the power of Parliament must be supplemented by many changes which are not political. Our people must open their minds to the idea that in many respects they are lagging behind others; and, above all, that the most sweeping reforms in our higher and secondary education are urgently required.

What I mean by increased insight is this: a clearer comprehension, on the part of influential men and bodies of men amongst us, of the real state, aspirations, and ideas, of foreign countries.

The subject of our official intercourse with other nations is too long to enter upon at the end of a speech; but few will maintain that the present arrangements of our Foreign Office, our Consular service, and our Diplomatic service, are thoroughly satisfactory.

Some one may say, however, "In these days of non-intervention, a perfectly organised system of official communication with foreign nations is less important than it was. Alas! we never know how soon our best resolutions of non-intervention

may be broken through. Able and well-informed persons will, in these days, from the nature of things, always be partisans, if not of the so-called *doctrine*, at least of the *practice* of non-intervention, whenever it is possible. They will have a wholesome dread, after the narrow escape of 1864, of our interfering on the wrong side, and they will feel that very great and very urgent must be the call which should summon a country to arms which has so large a population below, and so large a population just above, the limit of pauperism.

Happily the increasing diffusion of wise principles of government on the Continent, and the settlement of many long outstanding quarrels, make it more and more improbable that any foreign question will arise which will so affect the passions of our countrymen as to lead them to wish to engage in any war which is not waged, either in fulfilment of some imperative treaty, or in defence of the undoubted moral or legal rights of this country.

We cannot, however, foresee the future; and, depend upon it, the non-intervention that comes of full knowledge is better than the non-intervention that comes of ignorance; nor must we forget that non-intervention is, after all, only the first half of the lesson which we have to learn, and that the greatest preacher of non-intervention whom England has seen will be longest and best remembered as her first "international man."

1868.

AT ELGIN, *October* 21.

GENTLEMEN—Eleven years, no inconsiderable portion of even the longest human life, have well-nigh passed away since first I asked the constituency of the Elgin district, as I do again to-night, to send me as its representative to the House of Commons.

These eleven years have been filled up with momentous events, and will occupy a far greater space on the canvas of history, than many a placid and unfruitful century. Eleven years ago, Italy was still groaning under the Dukes and the Bourbons. Spain had just slipped back into the position that she occupied before the Liberal movement of 1854. Serfage still lay like a black cloud over European Russia; and men were still speculating timidly and doubtfully as to the possible abolition of slavery, at some far-off and millennial period, in the United States of North America. The German Diet, "the contradiction of thirty-five wills," still droned on at Frankfort, weaving one Thursday, to unweave the next, its everlasting Penelope's web. Hungary was still brooding in gloomy isolation over the blood of 1849, and the heaped-up wrongs of generations; while Austria, crushed by the combined weight of military and priestly despotism, was still, in the words of her great political poet, asking with bated breath "the freedom to be free."* These are but a few of the ancient injustices and venerable impostures which the year 1857 left still standing, when he breathed his last, and of which we may now happily say "gone is gone, dead is dead."

Great changes have taken place in this country also, but they have rather been changes in public opinion, ominous of future legislative change, than changes recognised and perfected through that Parliamentary agency by which this nation sets its seal to the changes for which it has become prepared.

Nothing has done more to make our recent history comparatively barren in legislative results, than the waste of the time of Parliament by the wearisome iteration of frivolous objections to the extension of the franchise. And observe, the loss of energy has been even greater than the loss of time. Half the energy that has been expended in conquering the resistance so pertinaciously offered to the improvement of the

* Anastasius Grün.

electoral machine, which makes the law-making machine, would, if applied to the working of the law-making machine itself, have enabled us to accomplish a great number of those legislative changes, as to the expediency of which all true Liberals have been long agreed.

"Well, somehow or other it ended at last." We need not stop to ask how it ended. We have too much important matter to talk about to-night. "Let the dead past bury its dead."

There is but one matter connected with the past session about which I wish to say a word, because it relates to one whom we almost hoped this autumn was about to become a citizen of Elgin, and because it has an important bearing on the future. I allude to the alteration in the position of Mr. Bright. For many years that distinguished man has stood in very peculiar relations to successive Liberal governments. Sometimes he has been a buttress—sometimes a battering-ram. He has generally been more important than any three ordinary Cabinet Ministers; but his place has always been apart, and his support dependent on Ministerial good behaviour. We have been accustomed to think that our great tribune would rather lower himself by taking office. We have felt pretty much as a famous foreign orator did, who once said to me, "Mr. Bright take office, good heavens! Does he wish to be Chancellor of the Exchequer? Why, whenever he opens his mouth, are not his words telegraphed from one end of Europe to the other?" *

Now, however, the situation is changed; we cannot think what a post-Niagara Liberal Cabinet would be without Mr. Bright, and one cannot help seeing from a certain alteration in his way of putting things, that the shadows of coming Ministerial responsibility are falling athwart his mind. Doubters tell us that he will injure his reputation, that he is no administrator.

* Count Montalembert.

Well, I more than suspect that nine-tenths of the politico-administrative ability which exists in England belongs to those little-heard-of gentlemen who see, in the course of their long official lives, some twenty or thirty august secretaries of State come to study at the private academies over which they preside in Downing Street and its purlieus. I observe, at least, this very significant fact, that whenever a man who has obtained office from causes unconnected with his personal merit, begins to be recognised as hopelessly inefficient, a hint is immediately given to the social *claque*, and in a few days Britain possesses one Colbert more. How many such has not a confiding public, during the last thirty years, seen carried in the arms of stout permanent secretaries, like St. Catherine borne to angels in the picture, if not to the immortality of a two-column biography in the *Times*, at least to the calm though somewhat colourless blisses of the political middle state, in which the disembodied spirits of men who once lived in the fret and turmoil of the House of Commons, await upon red benches the final judgment of history. Mr. Bright is assuredly not an administrator of this kind; but he is a statesman, for is it not the first characteristic of a statesman to have a faculty of being right in great matters, and has not our late almost-citizen been right about most of the things as to which nearly all of the so-called "eminent hands" were for years helplessly wrong—right about free trade, right about America, right about Reform?

To return, however, to what I was saying.—The question as to which I wish to compare our views at present is—what is the work which we should try to get out of the law-making machine so soon as, say, a month hence, the new electoral machine has made an end of making it?

First, then, it seems clear that the Reform Acts of the last two sessions will themselves require some reform. Every one seems to admit that; but I will not linger on this subject,

because, when the election is over, we shall see more clearly than we do now the exact nature and extent of the improvements that are wanted. There is only one caution that I would give. Do not let us sacrifice the work that has to be done, while we trifle and wrangle over mere details in the machinery.

On either side of the Atlantic, the two great divisions of the Anglo-Saxon race are preparing for elections which will decide the course of their history for a long time to come. In America, the question is—Shall the old issues, which were believed to be settled once for all by one of the greatest of modern wars, be again unsettled?—shall the cause which was lost on the battle-field be won again at the polls? With ourselves, the question of the hour is not so tremendous as this, but still it is serious enough. It is this—Shall we wipe from our scutcheon the one great blot that still defaces it, and makes us hang down our heads before foreign criticism? or shall we refuse to do so, and let the occasion go by, which may enable us to settle in peace and honour one of the gravest of all our internal questions?

The question of the hour is the question of the Irish Church. But do not be afraid, I will not detain you at any great length upon it. We have long understood each other about that matter. It did not need the noble petition which you sent me last spring to tell me what you thought; and my votes given in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy were not necessary to make it clear to you what I thought. In the debate of the 29th June 1863, I had the good fortune to be the only member not an Irishman, or closely connected with Ireland, who took the view of the Irish Church which all Liberals take now. "What," I asked, "is the remedy for the present state of things? Not a half-remedy. The only remedy which meets the case is that which Cato proposed for Carthage." And again, after pointing out that the disen-

dowment of the Irish Church would enable us once for all to get rid of the weary Maynooth and Regium Donum questions, I said, "Let us do this great just act, which will enormously benefit Ireland, and enormously benefit ourselves, and we shall do more to bring about the peace and stability of the empire than we could by twenty victories over any foreign foe." I spoke thus, not foreseeing that the tide of public opinion would flow so far or so fast as it has flowed, although I thought that the mind of the country was more prepared for a change of policy than many supposed. I spoke as I did because I thought it the plain duty of the movement party to press this question upon its leaders, and I quoted the words of a famous man* at a dangerous conjuncture—"We have reason on our side, and, when one has reason on their side, it is right to run some risks." Again, in 1865, when this question had advanced a little farther, but was still very far indeed from taking the position that it does now, I was the first person who rose on our side of the House after Mr. Gladstone's speech, to which reference has been so often made this year, and my first words were—"From the bottom of my heart I congratulate my hon. friend the member for Swansea. If he does not carry his motion—if he does not gain the present, he has, at least, gained the future. This debate will become historical, for, in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I see the beginning of the end of the great Irish difficulty." I repeat these things, because opinions avowed at a time, when many who are now loud in their professions were silent or hostile, are worth more than opinions which merely echo the common talk of the market-place.

I pass to an equally great and urgent, though less exciting, topic—that of Education. By the labours of successive Commissions and Committees, we have now had the whole state

* Napoleon I.

of education, both in England and Scotland, clearly laid before us. The time for inquiry is over, the time for action has come. One small, but exceedingly important, corner of the subject, in which I took a very deep interest—the reform of certain great English schools, known as the public schools —was temporarily disposed of by an Act of last session, an Act which, though it does not go as far in some respects as I could wish, nevertheless seems to me, considered as a temporary settlement, to be a very fair one. And I must say, that, when I remember how many persons felt about the steps which I took in 1861 for the reform of these establishments, I heard, with great satisfaction, the sentiments which were so generally expressed by the Conservatives who sat on the Select Committee which discussed the details of the bill last spring and summer. I hope, and almost believe, that when it is necessary to carry reforms farther, Parliament will only have to interfere to assist reforms originated from within.

This, however, as I said, is merely one corner of the subject. The new Parliament will have to deal with two immense questions—the question of English elementary education, and the question of English secondary education, as carried out in what are known as the endowed and middle-class schools. I pass these by, as they affect us in this part of the country only indirectly, and we have our own educational questions to deal with. The more pressing of these fall under two heads—What is to be done for our elementary schools? and What is to be done for our burgh and middle-class schools? On both these questions, I have expressed my opinion very fully in the House of Commons; but I will recapitulate the chief points in a very few words. I am willing to support the bill proposed by the Commissioners, which is, as you know, a measure of compromise; or I am willing to support any more liberal settlement which any Lord-Advocate sees his way to bring forward. The first

thing to be done is to provide, by a *national* system, means for sweeping into the educational net those 92,000 children in Scotland of the school age who are not at school, together with that large number of children who are at school, but at school in schools which are not efficient. The more unsectarian, and the more popular in their management, our schools can be made, the better I shall be pleased; but I will not hold out stiffly for minor points of my own opinion. That done, I want to see national school-teachers of merit encouraged by grants for teaching the higher branches, a few first-rate district schools established in those parts of the country where there are no burgh schools, and small competitive bursaries, created partly by the State, and partly by private benevolence, to enable deserving boys to go from the elementary national schools to district and burgh schools. Then I want the burgh schools to be assisted in the way suggested by the Commissioners, and submitted, in return, according to the general wish of the burgh schoolmasters, to inspection by first-rate men—men up to the highest European standard. Then I want to see another set of small bursaries, created partly by Government, and partly by private individuals, to be given away by competitive examination in those districts of the country where there are not enough already to take poor and deserving boys to the University.

For the completion of my system, so far as Scotland is concerned, various changes in the University would be necessary; but I will not linger on them now, because most of them could be carried out without the assistance of Parliament. Side by side, however, with the Universities of Scotland are the great Universities of England, incomparably the richest which exist in the world, and in which the desire for internal reform is producing such great changes, that we only want the assistance of Parliament to cut certain knots which Parliament itself tied in dark and evil days, to

enable us in Scotland to use those universities in aid of our own universities, as if they stood north, not south of the Tweed. The bill which was brought in in 1864 by Mr. Dodson, and the bill brought in about the same time by Mr. Bouverie, were last session amalgamated into one bill which was brought in by Mr. Coleridge, and received such overwhelming support on the Liberal side of the House, that we, whose names are on the back of it, have a distinct right to insist that it be made a Government measure as soon as the Liberals return to power. Mr. Gladstone, I may mention in passing, gave it his full support, to the great delight of his party.

When the bill becomes an Act, and certain other corollary measures are passed, which will follow in due course, I do most entirely believe, provided the plan which I have sketched of education within Scotland is carried out, the very best education which Europe has to give will be open to the children of every man in Scotland, however poor; for the children from the moment they leave the elementary school will, if they show energy, conduct, and ability, pass on from stage to stage, helped by bursaries and scholarships, until they are in a position to earn largely for themselves. It will thus become a matter of personal interest to all classes of the community that our higher education should be made first-rate.

Looked at from another point of view, it is, and always must be, a matter of infinite importance even to those who never pass beyond the stage of elementary education, that our higher education should be as good as possible; because, in a free community, the majority of those who rule the State will always be persons who have gone through what passes for the highest education which the community affords. If, then, the higher education is foolishly conducted, the political outturn will be bad. Supposing it had been the fashion for English gentlemen of the last century to give their sons as

sensible an education as Chatham gave to his son; or, with all his obvious errors, as Chesterfield gave to his son, would not the position of the country be infinitely happier and better than it is now? I might come down to our own times, and, pointing to one politician after another, ask—if the higher education of England had been as much influenced by philosophers and men of the world as it has been by pedants and priests, would this man and that man have spent half his life in fighting against political truths of which he is now the apostle?

In connection with this subject, I observe one movement going on in Scotland, which is of great national importance—I mean the movement for the self-reform of the great educational foundations known as hospitals, of which there are so many in and around Edinburgh. To one who is accustomed to see bodies of this kind, so far from reforming themselves, using every possible art to ward off reform from without, the spectacle presented by the doings of the Master of the Merchants' Company, and his allies, is as agreeable as it is novel; and every one will, I am sure, wish them God-speed in their efforts to obtain the maximum of advantage for their country out of the princely revenues which are committed to their charge.

The expenses entailed upon the State for the perfecting of our higher and secondary education will be trifling. Elementary Education, however, is a different matter. Before that is placed on a satisfactory footing, we shall all have to put our hands in our pockets pretty deeply, though no doubt we shall be amply repaid for what we expend, by the increased order, morality, and general efficiency of the community. Still, money will have to be raised; and, as we all feel that we pay in local and general taxes a great deal more than is pleasant, we must cast about for some way to save at one end as much as we lose in the other. I will say, for the present,

nothing about local taxation—which is, however, a ripening subject—but confine myself to the general taxation of the country. Now, surely one of the first wishes of many of the new voters will be to bring their power to bear for the reduction of expenditure, not by starving useful objects, but by cutting down useless ones.

How, then, are we to reduce our expenditure? Not, I think, through mere nibbling at the Estimates in Committee of Supply. I have never seen anything of the slightest importance done in this way. Joseph Hume did much by the process, but then the state of things was very different. Mr. Hume's brilliant success has left little for his imitators, unless it be to raise a smile on the countenance of the public. What we now want is, to bring into power, and keep in power, ministers with whom economy is a paramount consideration—who will cut down the Estimates in their offices before they are submitted to Parliament—who will treat the economists of the House as allies whom they trust to help them against the constant pressure which is now put upon all Governments in favour of objects useful to certain sections of the nation, but of little or no advantage to the nation at large. In this way we shall be able to restrain the growth of the Civil Service Estimates; but, after all, the Civil Service Estimates, although they require watching, are not seriously to be complained of. It is the fearful expense of the so-called great services—of the army and navy which, in the words of the poet, makes the Titan stagger under

"The too vast orb of his fate."

What, then, is to be done about these? Is their present colossal amount justified by any real necessity? The stock answer to this question is, Yes, as long as other nations go on adding ship to ship, and battalion to battalion, we must follow them in the mad race which is hurrying Europe to bankruptcy and ruin. There are said to be nearly four millions of men

in the effective force of European nations, trained to arms, and wholly withdrawn from useful labour, leaving altogether out of the question large bodies of men who, like our own volunteers and militia, are trained to arms without being withdrawn for any considerable time from their ordinary avocations. Every year adds thousands of victims to those which have already been offered up to that Moloch—more terrible than was the god of war himself in the days of our forefathers—an armed peace. Is this to go on for ever? If not, then some one must take the initiative in bringing about a change; and it is this country, which fears nobody and menaces nobody, that must take the first step. It can do this only by negotiation, by taking the lead in proposing a partial disarmament to the Governments of Europe.

Before, however, we can enter on such a negotiation, we must be ready to prove our sincerity by giving up all that can reasonably be expected of us; and, for that purpose, we must make up our minds as to what we can safely give up. In 1861, soon after the completion of the great and beneficent work of the commercial treaty with France, Mr. Cobden sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister, in which he proposed that a definite understanding should be come to between England and France as to the size of their naval armaments. I believe that the present would be a still more propitious time than the autumn of 1861 for entering upon such a negotiation. Many questions that were then open are now closed, and closed to the mutual advantage both of France and England. I believe that we should be met with perfect frankness, and that in settling the proportion which our navy should bear to that of France, due weight would be given to the smallness of our land force, as well as to the necessities of our vast and scattered empire. If once Europe saw that France and England had seriously entered upon a reduction of armaments, a proposal for a Congress to discuss the amount of

force which each State should keep up, would meet with few difficulties.

Governments, however, are slow to move. In despotic states they are always afraid of the army, hungry for pay and appointments even when it is not hungry for blood. In constitutional states, there is always the Opposition, ready to take the possessors of power at a disadvantage, and to avail itself of any slip to get public opinion upon its side. So it comes about that in Downing Street, at Tsarskoe-selo, at Sans Souci, and the Tuileries, people who see clearly what ought to be done, nevertheless wait and tremble, and let themselves drift to the blackness of darkness.

Well, but if Governments will do nothing, can Parliaments do nothing? I have good reason to believe, or rather to know, that a desire to take some step in this direction is more generally diffused among the Parliaments of Europe in this year 1868 than has ever been the case before, and various plans have been proposed for bringing the opinion of the representatives of the tax-payers to bear upon the actual wielders of armies. Without at all disparaging other proposals, I am not sure whether any better plan could be suggested for commencing such a movement, than that in some week of next spring a motion in favour of a partial and simultaneous disarmament throughout Europe should be made in the Second Chamber, or in both Chambers, of every Legislature which happens to be in session. There could be no difficulty in arranging for this, and as being something perfectly new in the history of the world, it would at least excite great attention, and force Governments to let us know if there are, indeed, any insuperable objections to the plan of a partial disarmament which are not clear to ordinary minds.

Of course, the great obstacle to a partial disarmament is the rivalry between France and Germany; for the vast majority of the public, at least on the Continent, is so much

occupied in making guesses as to the future intentions of the Emperor Napoleon, from indications which have really as little to do with the matter in hand as had the feeding or not feeding of the sacred chickens with the real strength of opposing armies—that they have no time to consider whether it would not be possible to put the question of partial disarmament before Berlin and Paris in a manner that might save the susceptibilities of both.

But supposing, as it is but too possible, that war does break out, it would adjourn the time for a partial disarmament, not make it unnecessary. The rivals are far too equally matched to allow the balance of power to be suddenly and largely altered by any war, for the benefit of either.* It will be altered in a generation for the benefit of Germany, by the mere increase of population, but for the present they are very fairly matched; and all I hope is that the result will be, what it was some sixty years ago in an Indian regiment, in which duels were effectually prevented by every one involved in a long-standing quarrel, which troubled the peace of the mess, being able to split a pistol-ball at twenty paces on the edge of a knife.

This partial disarmament is not a new thing in our history. We tried it once at the treaty of Ghent, and with the most complete success. During the last war with the United States, we fought very fiercely with them on the great lakes, and it became clear that the possession of a superior force on these lakes would give an immense advantage to either belligerent. The plenipotentiaries of Ghent, seeing the result of permitting the two nations to go on vieing with each other in building vessels upon the lakes, would be to involve both in frightful expense, if not a new war, agreed that each was to be allowed to keep four small armed vessels, and no more. What was the effect of this? I quote from an excellent pamphlet by

* Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ!

Mr. Henry Richards—"The effect of this wise and friendly arrangement was most admirable. Not only did it prevent all increase of armaments on the lakes for fifty years, but it led to their absolute disappearance." Here is Mr. Cobden's testimony on the point, in a speech which he made in the House of Commons in 1851. "What has been the result," said he, "of the friendly convention? Not only has it had the effect of reducing the force, but of abolishing it altogether. When I sat in committee on the navy estimates in 1848, I did not find that any vessel was left on the lakes as an armed force. From the moment that it was known that there was to be no rivalry as to the armaments of the two countries, neither party cared to maintain even the moderate force which they were entitled to keep up."

About naval reduction I shall say nothing. To speak of it would require special knowledge which I do not possess, but the impression left on my mind by the countless discussions of the last few years is, that very large savings can be made.

The possibilities, not to say probabilities, of danger in India, are always so great that we cannot perhaps make very large reductions in our land force, but can we make *no* reductions? Why, for instance, need we keep 16,000 men in the Canadian Dominion? Is it not strong enough to protect itself against Fenian raids, and to preserve order within its own territory? "Oh, but," some one may say, "we do that in case of a war with the United States." Sixteen thousand men to keep out the United States! A child's sand castle to keep out the German Ocean! Take up the map, and look at the frontier. What is to prevent the United States, in case of a war, sending twice, four times, eight times as large a force thither as we could possibly spare? We cannot alter by our will the conditions of nature. The true strength of the Canadian Dominion lies in this, that it does not at present want to

join the Great Republic, and the Great Republic has no wish gratuitously to create a Poland on its northern limits. Surely, under the circumstances, the British flag is as good a protection to the Canadian Dominion as 16,000 or twice 16,000 men. Take again the case of the Australian Colonies. We keep there, for purely colonial purposes, three British regiments, partly at our expense, partly at that of the colonies. Why do we do this? What enemy do we fear? Or do we desire to retain our connection with them an hour longer than they wish to retain their connection with us? I trust the time will soon come when we shall only keep garrisons in those smaller dependencies which we hold, rather as points of vantage and stepping-stones across the great oceanic spaces, than as colonies in the ordinary sense of the term.

Again, if we can succeed in making Ireland a strength instead of a weakness to the Empire, we might to some extent diminish our home force, while it is quite possible that events may take such a turn as to enable us to keep a somewhat smaller European army in our Asiatic dominions.

It seems to me, also, more than probable that, when we once seriously set about the reform of the Army, we shall find that considerable reductions can be made in many directions in which we now hardly look—reductions, if not in the numbers, at least in the expense of our force.

I have always thought that this question of Army Reform would obtain a far more direct impetus than any other from the enlargement of the constituencies. Hitherto, in this country, except in time of war, the army has excited little interest in the electoral body, for its officers belong for the most part to a class which, though comparatively a large one in a country so rich as Great Britain, forms but a trifling proportion of even the old constituencies. The great majority of recruits, on the other hand, are drawn from a class which has not hitherto possessed the franchise. Now, however, we

must, I think, in towns at least, have a large number of persons on the electoral roll, whose sons, and brothers, and cousins, are privates and non-commissioned officers in the army. I sincerely hope, at least, that it is so; and nothing will give me greater pleasure than to find that soldiers' grievances are beginning to be forced on the consideration of candidates and members. We must make the army a true reflex of the nation. We must make it, as has been admirably said, neither more aristocratic, nor more democratic, than the rest of English society. How, then, should we set about making the army reflect the nation? First, we should abolish purchase. But, it is said, If you abolish purchase, you must enable the officer to live on his pay. Of course you must; but will not the State gain a hundredfold by getting rid of the mere ornamental officer, who goes into the service to wear a red coat and amuse himself, in favour of the officer who goes into it, intending to give the same attention to military studies which the lawyer or the doctor, who means to succeed, must give to legal or medical studies? Have we still to learn, at this time of day, that the wise employer is he who gives good wages, and insists on good work?

The only thing that can give a man a right to command in the army, is that which alone can give him a right to lead in civil life—superior efficiency. He alone has a right to rule in the sense I mean, of course, of actually directing the march of affairs, of whom it can be said, as it has been said of the noblest leader of the Athenian democracy—

> "He waved his sceptre o'er his kind,
> By Nature's first, great title—mind."

I earnestly hope that the Scotch constituencies will turn their attention to this vast and vital subject. We have always, as a nation, had a strong turn for military pursuits,

and you may be well assured that if the British army is once put upon a proper footing, once made a certain career for distinguished merit and ability, once made a good school, and not a bad one, for our youth, Scotchmen, and Scotchmen from this district, will be among the first to be benefited by it. As far as I can judge from the reports in the newspapers, it seems to me that this question will, in future sessions, be in charge of a Scotch member, for Mr. George Trevelyan, to whom this question belongs in the House, as it belongs to his father out-of-doors, seems likely to be returned for the Border Burghs. Let us in this region take the matter into our thoughts, and give Mr. Trevelyan all the support we can in the very hard struggle he will have to wage, through more than one Parliament, with the lovers of feudalism and privilege, who will fight hard and long for their most powerful instrument—a plutocratic and oligarchic army. Surely, since military virtue is so widely diffused, the army is one of the first of our institutions which should be accommodated to that tendency of the times, in virtue of which the collective greatness of the mass is brought into more relief than of old, at the expense, not of the greatness, but of the fame of the individual.

> "'Tis no man we celebrate
> By his country's victories great,
> A hero half, and half a whim of fate;
> But the pith and marrow of a nation,
> Drawing force from all her men—
> Highest, humblest, weakest, all
> For her day of need, and then
> Pulsing it again through them."

Thus sings the American poet; and his words, like so many more in that noble and beautiful, but to our old European ideas, somewhat startling book, the *Harvard Memorial Biographies*, have a very ominous and fateful ring.

The accusation usually brought against persons who have advocated partial disarmament, or economic and popular management of our sea and land force, is, that they take a mere mercantile view of matters; that they look at the world merely through English spectacles. Well, whatever may be my sins, I do not think that that is precisely the indictment which will lie against me. It is because I am nervously alive to what is going on in other countries that I preach co-operation for the reduction of armaments, and a more popular government of the armaments that will remain after all practicable reductions have been made. So far from believing that an English politician can shape his course aright by confining his views to the narrow limits of this island, I believe that our cosmopolitan position necessitates a cosmopolitan range of vision. So wide-reaching are the ties and interests of this country, that no one has a right to aspire to be listened to by it in the gravest questions of imperial policy who does not, while anxiously watching the currents of home opinion, keep his eyes and his ears open to the state of opinion both in Europe and America. This necessity is laid upon us by the logic of facts; we cannot escape from it if we would. If ever it again becomes possible for an intelligent foreign statesman to write about the ignorance of English statesmen on a European question of first-rate magnitude, with the calm and kindly, but measureless, contempt with which Bunsen wrote in 1848, such English statesmen will deserve nothing short of the re-erection of the scaffold on Tower Hill.

I am a friend to non-intervention, properly understood; but I maintain that non-intervention is but half our lesson—that international co-operation is the other half of it. I maintain that, with increasing knowledge of foreign affairs, will come an increased disinclination to hamper ourselves with entangling alliances, or to allow our policy to be guided by feeling and enthusiasm, however generous. Let us perish, if we must

perish, in the light. But we shall not perish. On the contrary, long ere our policy has become thoroughly pervaded by an international spirit, the more candid of our foreign critics will see the direction that things are taking—will see that Albion can no longer be called the perfidious, even by her bitterest enemies—will see that our aim, as a nation, is not to extend our territory—not to injure foreign manufacturers—not to monopolise commerce; but to contract to a considerable extent our territorial responsibilities—to stimulate the manufactures and commerce of every nation, in the certain hope that the native vigour of our race, our vast accumulated capital, and the accident of our position on the surface of the globe, will always enable us to take an honourable place amongst our contemporaries, and have a fair share of the good things of this earth, if not in return for precisely the same services which we afford at present, then in return for others appropriate to the time and circumstance. I detest what has been so well called the "bloody meddlesomeness" of those days, when the natural impulse of a man of spirit was to go, as the old song has it,

"To fight the foreign loons in their ain countree."

I disapprove no less, though I sympathise far more, with what has also been called the "friendship of political opinion, which sticketh closer than the brotherhood of citizenship," and would make this country the knight-errant of the world, the redresser of the wrongs of all mankind. Am I then in favour of a narrow and selfish national isolation? Far indeed from that. That is the very antithesis of the policy which I would recommend.

I should like to see the Foreign Office, and the two services which depend upon it, the Diplomatic and the Consular, used every day more and more as an instrument for receiving all the information that can be obtained with regard to the state

of foreign countries, and reflecting it in a strong and steady light all over the United Kingdom. Unquestionably our Foreign Office has done of late years much more in this way than it used to do, but I am confident that greater encouragement might stimulate our existing consular and diplomatic servants to far greater exertions in procuring information. Then, if it became the policy of successful Governments to weld the three branches of our foreign service into one, and to make it a picked service, accessible only to men of more than average intellectual merit, we should confer, not only on our merchants and our manufacturers, but upon all those to whom it is important to know what is actually being done by their contemporaries in the leading branches of human effort, one of the greatest blessings which a State ever gave to its children. Into that matter, however, I will not go farther at present; and in conclusion I will only say that at this parting of the ways, this commencement of a new era in our history, the cry which I should like to see taken up by the people from the one end of the country to the other is—Justice to all parts of the empire, and to all sections of the people. Give an earnest that you will settle the Irish question. Open every career to talent. No more privileges and preferences in the administration of those services for which the taxpayer pays or ought to pay, according to his ability; no more tests and exclusions to keep educational advantage in the hands of particular sects and classes—a fair field and no favour, or rather abundance of favour to intellect, virtue, and knowledge, and favour to nothing else. The principles which I have thus expressed involve, as you will see, a great number of other matters on which I have not touched; but the speech which I make to-night is only the first of those which I propose to make between this and the election in each burgh of this widely scattered constituency. During the course of the next three weeks, I shall have ample opportunity for expressing myself

on every imaginable political subject; but I need hardly say, if there are any matters as to which you wish now to question me, I shall be only too happy to answer.

AT KINTORE, *October* 29.

GENTLEMEN—In a speech delivered at Elgin last week, which many of you have no doubt seen, I laid before the constituency my opinions on most of the questions that seemed to me likely to occupy the attention of the new Parliament; and I now propose to offer some further observations upon the most important of these.

Foremost amongst the foremost stands, of course, the question of the Irish Church. Most reasonable men in Scotland have for a long time made up their minds as to that matter. The friends of Establishments see that the Irish Church lacks every characteristic which an establishment ought to have; that it is a scandal to the principle of establishments, and that the best thing that can be done for other establishments is to try and show that they have neither part nor lot in the maintenance of one of the greatest European abuses. The friends of the non-Established Churches, on the other hand, are glad to see that Ireland, which is in many respects so unhappy, is at least to have the advantage of possessing no State Church. They look to the farther west, and see, under the operation of the voluntary system, that, in the words of my friend Mr. Goldwin Smith, "Not only in New England is each city, each little town, crowned with a cluster of steeples, but that churches are rising, built by free-will, wherever the pioneer's axe makes room in the woods of Michigan, wherever the plough turns the soil in the prairies of Illinois, on the distant hills of Iowa, beneath the lonely headlands of the Upper Mississippi." They see all this, and wonder whether the future of Christianity

in Europe is not bound up with that separation of the Church and State, to which they are devoted. By the vast majority of the Scottish people, and by a large, but not so overwhelming, majority of the English people, the Irish Establishment has been weighed and found wanting; and I take it to be as certain as anything in the future can be, that it will, within a very few years, be prospering as a Free Church, and very glad to have escaped from an untenable and invidious position. It is important, however, that we should not cherish any illusions as to the results of what we are doing. We are engaged in doing a just, a wise, a necessary act, but, in getting rid of the Irish Establishment, and launching the Irish Church as a Voluntary Church, we are not finding a panacea or universal cure for the ills of Ireland. Our just, and wise, and necessary act will not be *immediately* rewarded by making that country an addition to, instead of a deduction from, the strength of the empire. It is, however, an indispensable first step. For want of having taken this indispensable first step thirty or forty years ago, many other just and wise acts that we have done with reference to Ireland have failed to produce the effects which were expected. This root of bitterness has been perpetually springing up between us and the Irish people, so as to prevent their seeing that the intentions of British statesmen towards them were really good. When, however, we have once got rid of the ecclesiastical incubus, everything will become easier. Time, that most powerful of all solvents of national animosity, will begin to work in our favour. We must, however, have patience, and, above all, we must remember the position from which we started—the real position of Ireland before the House of Commons gave the vote, the great and glorious vote, of the fourth of April last. That country was not indeed so physically wretched as it was when Mr. Bright spoke as follows :—"Look at that great subscription that was raised three years ago for Ireland. There was scarcely a part

of the globe from which subscriptions did not come. The Pope, as was very natural, subscribed; the head of the great Mahometan Empire, the Grand Seignior, sent his thousand pounds; the uttermost parts of the earth sent in their donations. A tribe of Red Indians on the American Continent sent their subscription; and I have it on good authority, that even the slaves on a plantation in one of the Carolinas subscribed their sorrowful mite, that the miseries of Ireland might be relieved. The whole world looked upon the condition of Ireland, and helped to mitigate her miseries." Ireland, in the spring of 1868, was not, I say, so physically wretched as the Ireland of 1849; but never since 1798 had it been more dangerously disaffected.

Let us, I say, keep this in mind when, in coming years, we find that reconciliation is not going on so quickly as we had hoped. Let it never be said that those who advocated the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church believed that these measures would act as a charm. What they do believe and say is, in the words of Mr. D'Arcy M'Gee—"There is one miraculous agency which has yet to be fully and fairly carried out in Ireland. Brute force has failed—proselytism has failed; try—if only for the novelty—try, patiently and thoroughly, Statesmen of the Empire, the miraculous agency of equal and exact justice for one or two generations."

Behind the Church question, and incapable of settlement until men's minds have been calmed by the settlement of that, lies the Land question, one of extraordinary difficulty, and with regard to which the greatest authorities are very much divided. My own view is, that the Liberal party ought, for the present, to concentrate its strength in carrying the measures which will, no doubt, be introduced in the new Parliament by its official leaders, as they were introduced by them in the last Parliament—moderate measures, calculated

to do away with the gross and glaring evils that now exist in the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland, without entering into the discussion of those larger questions which have been opened in the controversy that has raged round the pamphlets of Mr. Mill and Lord Dufferin. Are there no such gross and glaring evils? Just listen to this passage from the speech of Mr. Chichester Fortescue, of the 13th March last:—

"He had never accused the Irish landlords of any flagrant abuses of their power, but, certainly, acts were committed in Ireland, which, although not always considered harsh or extraordinary in that country, would be so described in this. What the Irish tenant dreaded most was not eviction, though evictions were not uncommon; his chief fear arose from the fact that the landlord's rent was too apt to follow hard upon the tenant's improvements. For instance, he happened to know an estate upon which the rental had been raised upon seven different occasions during ten years, until the landlord had raised it to what he thought a proper standard. Of course, the enterprising tenant in such a case suffered most, because the return made for improving the land became an increase in the rent."

We, with our nineteen years' leases, and our farms on which large amounts of capital have been sunk by the landlord before he lets them, can hardly understand the state of things in which, not the landlord, but the tenant sinks the capital; and the landlord, as fast as he sinks it, raises his rent. We can hardly, I say, *understand* it, and I am very sure we should not *stand* it.

Well, then, I say, let us first remedy those things which every one must admit to be wrong, before we go on to discuss the very large changes for which some persons call. It may be that we shall be obliged to face them, but it may also be that it never will be necessary to do so. Mr. Chichester

Fortescue, himself bound in heavy recognisances to the Irish landed interest, very properly said, "he did not deny that such tremendous changes would be justifiable and righteous, if they were absolutely necessary for the salvation of the people of Ireland; but it was because he did not regard them as being necessary to this result that he was not favourable to Mr. Mill's proposal." Every one who has studied the state of Ireland knows that, when we have settled the Church question, and settled the Land question, we shall not be at the end of our troubles about that country. But I will not go into other matters relating to that part of the United Kingdom at present, but merely say, in concluding this part of my subject, that the frightful complication of difficulties into which we have got on the other side of St. George's Channel should be a lesson to us not to put off doing justice. A nation whose just demands are refused is, if not absolutely destroyed, like the old woman with the Sibylline books; she returns again and again, offering less and asking more, until she receives her price at last.

There is another question which is, day by day, growing in importance in relation to this election—I mean the question of the national expenditure. I hope and partly think, that when people have once taken it up, they will not treat it merely as a question between the two parties, although, even as between the two parties, it is important enough; but that they will go on and insist upon a larger reduction than has hitherto been contemplated by either party. I feel very sure that Mr. Gladstone would not be sorry to have some gentle violence put upon him in this matter, and I also feel assured that no real good will be done by mere cheese-paring, that economists must strike boldly at one or more large heads of expenditure, and at one or more large sources of revenue. The head of expenditure at which I would first strike, is the expenditure on the Army and Navy. We are now spending upon these more than

was required in 1854 for the maintenance, not of themselves only, but of all the civil establishments into the bargain. I urged at Elgin the expediency of entering into negotiations for a partial European disarmament, and stated at length my reasons for believing such a disarmament to be no mere chimerical scheme. But, putting aside altogether the question of partial disarmament in Europe, we can, I think, make large savings by a revision of our own system.

And, first and foremost, we should strike at the present insane expenditure upon naval and military service in our colonies. Now, what do you think this amounts to? It amounts, first and last, to something very like £6,000,000 a-year. This we pay, to a great extent, for the military and naval defence of persons who are far better off than the vast majority of our own population—thriving, prosperous men, who return us nothing whatever for what we give, except nominal allegiance, which they would equally give if we did not spend these large sums amongst them, and who, very often, levy protective duties upon our manufacturers. I would leave, as I said at Elgin, garrisons in those places which we hold as points of vantage, and as stepping-stones across the great oceanic spaces; but I would cut off remorselessly all we spend for the defence of the larger colonies. Consider the following extract from an excellent pamphlet which has just been issued by the Financial Reform League Union:—

"In his evidence before the Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure, Mr. Robert Lowe, M.P., formerly a member of the Legislative Council of Sydney, said,—'To tax the labourers of Leicestershire and Dorsetshire, for instance, to relieve such a community from taxation required for its own defence, would, it appears to me, be a crying injustice to those who had to pay it.' He also described the pernicious effect of the system in the following words:—

"'My opinion is, that the presence of a small force does not

give the protection required; but that it deadens the spirit of the colonists, to which alone they can look for protection; probably every soldier there prevents 100 colonists from taking up arms and drilling. The colonists would be glad to see ten times as many British soldiers as we now maintain in any colony. The upper classes think it makes society more agreeable; the young ladies are frantic on the subject, and the people who keep public-houses are always glad to see our soldiers.'

"Before the same Committee Mr. Gladstone declared, that 'the greatest difficulty attaching to the subject is the uninformed and immature, and generally indifferent state of public opinion upon the colonial military expenditure of this country.' In reply to the question—'Looking at the present distribution of power, and responsibility, and charge, do you know anything analogous in the history of the world to our colonies?' he replied, 'No; I believe it to be a novel invention, of which, up to the present time, we are the patentees, and no one has shown a disposition to invade our patent.' That the time is ripe for a settlement of this important question, there are many evidences; among them, the address recently issued to the electors of Oxford by Mr. Cardwell, in which he says—'Modern improvements in the arms of warfare, recent experience on the Continent, and *a growing conviction, both in the colonies and at home, of the necessity for a greater self-reliance on the part of our distant dependencies,* will make a review of our military and naval establishments a cardinal question in the future Parliament.' Let us look at it as unconcerned spectators might. Supposing we were to find that Athens or Corinth had borne such a relation to their colonies as we do to ours, should we not have said that it was a most ludicrous arrangement? Well, then, surely the mere fact of its being very much for our pecuniary interest to take the right view in the case of our own colonies should not make

us take the wrong one. That would be carrying self-distrust to the verge of fatuity.

I said I should wish to strike at some large head of taxation, and I am inclined to think that those are right who say that sugar is perhaps the article which has the first claim; for sugar comes next to corn in its importance to the comforts of the people, and the abolition of the duty on it would at once increase our manufactures, and make us the emporium of sugar for a great part of the world. The produce of the sugar-duty, and of a dozen articles of a saccharine character which are also taxed, would make a hole in the revenue to the extent of more than £5,800,000. A large part of this would be saved by getting rid of a slice of colonial, military, and naval expenditure; but it is not my business to show how the balance between income and expenditure would be redressed. What I should like to see the people say to the Chancellor of the Exchequer is, "We won't give you any more sugar-duties, and you must make the ends meet without them." You may be very sure, gentlemen, that if Mr. Gladstone, or any one inspired by him, received a peremptory order from the tax-payers to that effect, the ends would soon be made to meet; and right glad, if I am not mistaken, would Mr. Gladstone be to receive such a peremptory order. I hope to see, as one result of the recent change in the franchise, a further very considerable diminution of indirect taxation. If we cannot get it except by an increase of direct taxation, why I, as one of those who will suffer, at least temporarily, in pocket, by the change from indirect to direct taxation, will be sorry for it. But I more than doubt whether, if we take, in the next ten years, ten millions off our indirect taxation, we shall add anything like ten millions to our direct taxation; and certain I am that, even if we do, the country will be better able to bear it, thanks to the impulse which many branches of trade will receive by a judicious remission of customs duties.

I said in my address issued in August,* to the electors—"With the repeal of the Corn Laws, England commenced a new phase in her existence; but she has hardly yet realised the full meaning of the doctrines which she has accepted, or understood how far the path on which she then entered would lead her." Let me explain more fully what I meant by these words. Before 1846, our system was a vilely bad one; but it was a logical one. Its various parts hung together. Our statesmen conceived of the British Empire as one vast whole, sufficient to itself—the colonies playing into the hands of the mother country, the mother country playing into the hands of the colonies; and both together treating the whole of the rest of the world as strangers, and almost enemies. They thought, in fact, of war as the normal, and peace as the abnormal state of our community. In that well-put together and logical system the repeal of the Corn Laws made a tremendous breach. We acknowledged by that act that we must henceforward be largely dependent upon nations outside our own system for the very bread we eat. Several measures followed in the same direction, and more especially the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and the concession of the right of self-government to our most important colonies. Then, however, came a pause, and we have been for more than half a generation hesitating in our course, and neglecting to take the steps which should have been the necessary complement of the great change of 1846. That change should have been followed by putting our colonies in the position in which, I have already said, I wished to see them. It should have been followed by decided efforts for the reduction of our own and our neighbours' armaments; by a change in our foreign policy, which should substitute national co-operation for national competition, as its ideal aim, and which should

* See Appendix.

contemplate peace and not war as our normal condition. It should have been followed by further steps towards direct taxation, and by free trade in land.

Observe, when I say "should have been," I merely mean to imply that these were the logical consequences of what we did in 1846. I am not blaming any one for not going farther and faster then they have done, although some, no doubt, deserve blame. Observe again, we have taken some very great steps on the right road, of which it is only necessary to mention one—the Commercial Treaty with France. All I wish to impress upon you is, that we should now make an end of hesitations, and press steadily on, with a clearer view than we have hitherto had of the illogical nature of our present position.

If the constituencies, now that the Reform question in all its broader features is settled for some time to come, do not begin to look into these questions, and to insist upon the lightening of the terrible and increasing burden which they bear, I shall be very much surprised, and most bitterly disappointed. The longer I live, the more persuaded I am that it is one of the first duties of a statesman to lay a strong foundation for all the higher part of a nation's life in its material comfort and prosperity. No one believes more in education and in the influence of the cheap press than I do, but to give these and other elevating agencies fair play, we must make the people easier in their circumstances; and, without a stern reduction of our present wild expenditure, and other measures in the same direction, we cannot do this. This is not so magnificent an object of political striving as some schemes that might be laid before you, redolent of blood and glory, dyed deep with the spirit of domination abroad, and of glaring social contrasts at home; but out of this soil of increased domestic well-being will, I am sure, grow a far richer crop of science, of art, of literature—of all, in short, that adds

splendour to civilisation—than any which this country has yet seen.

The Britain of which I dream, and surely the dream is no ignoble one, will not only have intellectually accepted, but have practically carried out, all the doctrines which lay at the root of the change of 1846. There will be no more monopolies; and such *quasi* monopolies as must, in the nature of things, exist, will be worked, like the Post-Office, by the State for the common benefit of all its citizens. There will—I am speaking, perhaps, too boldly and hopefully—be no more tariffs to exclude the products of other lands, and interfere with that mutual dependence of nations which Mr. Cobden called the "International Law of the Almighty." Our country will be armed, of course, and far better, though not so heavily armed as she is now, but armed only to protect herself from wrong. She will be the titular head of a company of Anglo-Saxon nations, once her dependencies, but now only her allies. She will rule in India as long as it is for the advantage of India that a dominion should continue which, begun in selfish motives, is rapidly becoming imbued with a new spirit. She will rule in India, so as enormously to develop the intellectual powers of the Indian mind, and herself to receive new intellectual impulses from that mind. She will rule in India, so as enormously to develop the trade of India, and reap, in the natural order of things, vast benefits from that developed trade. Every branch of the public service, at home and abroad, will be as open to merit and ability as the Indian Civil Service is now; and a carefully graded system of schools, with a carefully graded system of bursaries and scholarships, will form a ladder by which talent and genius in every rank may rise to serve its contemporaries in the noblest and most arduous ways. Her Universities and public schools, far from lagging behind the age, will become the very fount and centre of European and cosmopolitan light,

ready to adopt everything that is proved to be an improvement, from whatever side it comes; watching experiments in the New World, like Mr. Cornell's at Ithaca, eager to catch the last hint which German erudition has disinterred from a manuscript or a coin; welcoming to their halls students of both sexes, and of every nation and denomination under heaven. This is the sort of position that Nature, which placed us between the old world and the new, points out as the fit one for these Atlantic islands to occupy. This, and not the position which we have for a long time occupied—the position of a sort of European duenna, shuddering at every change in the old established order—Nature, I say, points to this as our position, and it is vain to fight against it.

At Peterhead, *November* 9.

Gentlemen—I come before you still under the impression of the noble meeting over which I had the honour to preside on Thursday night,* when 4000 of our countrymen were gathered together to do homage to a great orator and good man. Under these circumstances, I do not know that I can throw my observations this evening into a more convenient form than into that of a commentary on the various topics on which Mr. Bright touched, in the speech, which most of you have, no doubt, read and admired.

First in order came Parliamentary Reform and the Ballot; the one treated chiefly in reference to the past, the other to the future. On these I need not linger. My opinions have been expressed often by word of mouth, and oftener still in the division lobby. Next followed the Irish Land question, with regard to which Mr. Bright said, amongst other things, that he believed it would be necessary to adopt some plan by which

* In the Corn Exchange at Edinburgh.

the land of Ireland might be gradually, to a considerable extent, transferred from the hands of great absentee proprietors to the hands of the resident population of the country. Now, in speaking at Kintore and Inverurie the other day, I expressed my opinion that the Liberal party would do best to concentrate its strength in carrying the measures which are likely to be introduced into Parliament by its official leaders —*moderate measures*, calculated to do away with the gross and glaring evils that now exist in the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland. In these words, I did not refer to the measure which Mr. Bright had in his mind, but as, in case of the official leaders of the Liberals at some future time adopting that measure, I should have no difficulty in supporting them, I may just mention what it is. Mr. Bright's plan for dealing with the Irish Land question is best set forth in two speeches which he delivered at Dublin in the end of October and beginning of November 1866. From the second of these I quote the following :—

"There are many large estates in Ireland which belong to rich families in England—families not only of the highest rank, but of the highest character, because, I will venture to say, there are not to be found amongst the English nobility families of more perfect honourableness and worth than some of those to whom my plan would be offered; and, therefore, I am not speaking against those families, or against property, or against anybody, or against anything that is good. I say that, if Parliament were to appoint a Commission, and give it, say, at first, up to the amount of five millions sterling, the power to negotiate or treat with those great families in England who have estates in Ireland, it is probable that some of those great estates might be bought at a not very unreasonable price. I am of opinion that this would be the cheapest money that the Imperial Parliament ever expended, even although it became possessed of those estates at a price considerably above the market price.

But I propose it should be worked in this way. I will take a case. I will assume that this Commission is in possession of a considerable estate bought from some present owner of it. I will take one farm, which I will assume to be worth £1000, for which the present tenant is paying a rent of £50 a-year. He has no lease. He has no security. He makes almost no improvement of any kind, and he is not quite sure, when he has saved a little more money, he will not take his family off to the United States. Now, we will assume ourselves, if you like, to be that Commission, and that we have before us the farmer, who is tenant in that particular farm, for which he pays £50 a-year, without lease or security, and which I assume to be worth £1000. The Government, I believe, lends money to Irish landowners for drainage purposes at about 3½ per cent per annum. Suppose the Government were to say to this farmer—'You would not have any objection to become possessed of this farm?' 'No, not the slightest,' he might answer; 'but how is that to be done?' 'In this way:—You may pay £50 a-year, that is 5 per cent on one thousand pounds; the Government can afford to do these transactions for 3½ per cent; if you will pay £60 a-year for a given number of years, which any of the actuaries of the insurance offices, or any good arithmetician, may soon calculate—if you will pay £60 for your rent instead of £50, it may be for perhaps twenty years, at the end of that time the farm will be yours, without further payment.' I want you to understand how this is. If the farmer paid £10 a-year more than he now pays, towards buying his farm, and if the £1000 the Government would pay for the farm would not cost the Government more than £35, the difference between £35 and £60, being £25, would be the sum which that farmer, in his rent, would be paying to the Commission, that is, to the Government, for the redemption of his farm. Thus, at the end of a very few years, the farmer would possess his own farm, having a perfect security in the

meantime. Nobody could turn him out if he paid his rent, and nobody could rob him for any improvement he made on his land."

Now, I do not care to express an opinion as to whether it may ever become necessary to adopt this plan, but it is desirable that the plan should be kept before the country, and that people should distinctly understand that it does not go nearly so far as the plan proposed by Mr. Mill, so that if ever it has to be discussed as a measure before Parliament, there may be no erroneous notions about confiscation and what not, to sweep away.

Side by side with the Irish Land question, though happily far less difficult and complicated, is our own land question, for the settlement of which only two large measures seem very necessary: the first, the passing of Mr. Locke King's Bill, which is commonly known as the Bill for the abolition of the Law of Primogeniture; and the second, the prohibition, after some fixed date, of any new settlement of landed property which shall extend beyond the life of persons in being when the settlement is made. These two measures, taken together, will in no very long time, without in the slightest degree interfering with the reasonable rights of a testator, set free a considerable and ever-increasing quantity of land; because the abolition of what is known as the *Law* of Primogeniture, will react on the much more important *custom* of Primogeniture, with which neither Mr. Bright nor any one else proposes to interfere by law, and because owners of large masses of land, which have descended to them without any of those legal restrictions which fetter most large properties now, and make the apparent owner often not the real owner, will in many cases be only too happy to dispose of portions of their estates, and by that means enable many persons who cannot afford to buy large estates, and cannot find small ones to buy, to gratify a natural and reasonable desire. It is very

far from being the interest of our great landed proprietors to resist measures of this kind, and many of them, I am persuaded, will not do so. I have never heard more sensible opinions expressed upon this question than I have heard expressed by the heir of one of say the two dozen properties still remaining in Europe which may without exaggeration be described as equal in importance to a moderate independent State, as independent States were before the French Revolution. The truth is, that to form a reasonable opinion upon this subject, one simply requires to understand it. It is not like so many other questions connected with land, susceptible of long discussion. At the same time, we must not delude ourselves. Let us have absolute free trade in land. Let us simplify our conveyancing system to the very uttermost. We shall stimulate the national prosperity in a variety of ways; but we shall not do anything like so much as some gentlemen who mount this question as a hobby, and gallop the poor animal unmercifully, believe. Let us do what these gentlemen propose; but do not let us imagine that we are thereby opening the gates of paradise.

From speaking of the Land, Mr. Bright went on to speak of the National Expenditure; but of that I have said so much both at Elgin and elsewhere, that I need not enter upon it again. Let me, however, call your attention to one passage in Mr. Bright's speech, in itself very true and noble, and which brings up a large question:—"I don't know whether it is a dream, or a vision, or a foresight of the reality, that sometimes passes across my mind—I like to dwell upon it—that the time will come when the maritime nations of Europe, this renowned country of which we are citizens, France, Prussia, Russia, resuscitated Spain, Italy, and the United States of America, may see that these vast fleets are of no use. They are merely menaces offered from one country to another. They are grand inventions by which the blood is withdrawn

from the veins of the people to feed their ulcers, and they may come to this grand and wise conclusion, that they will combine at their joint cost, and under some joint management, to supply the sea with a fast sailing or steaming armed police, which shall be necessary to keep the peace on all parts of the watery surface of the globe, and that navies, as a great instrument of war and aggression, shall no longer be upheld."

The large question to which I allude is the question of the revision of Maritime Law. It forms an integral part of what has been called the Cobdenic policy, and part of it has twice come up for discussion in the House of Commons, more especially in 1862. For some time, it has been in a state of suspended animation, peeping out now and then at Social Science Congresses, and the like; but some of these days events will force us to reconsider it, and to take a decision one way or other. For the present, it may be enough for us to remember that such a question exists.

From speaking of the national expenditure, Mr. Bright passed to Taxation; upon which, however, he expressed himself more fully at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce earlier in the day, where he repeated a former saying of his to the Financial Reform Association of Liverpool, "Hoist the flag of a free breakfast." Now, gentlemen, if you did me the honour to read my speech at Kintore and Inverurie the other day, you will see that I have hoisted the flag of a free breakfast, so far at least as sugar is concerned. Sugar seems to me to have decidedly superior claims to either tea or coffee—both of which, however, have great claims; and I sincerely hope, and fully expect, that ere long a decided move will be made in its favour.

I entirely believe that, by the withdrawal of our troops from our larger colonies, and by a complete and searching reform in our army and navy, we shall be able to save, without any sacrifice of our warlike efficiency, a larger sum than is

brought in not by sugar only, but by all the articles which contribute to the comfort of the breakfast table. I spoke at large upon the question of Army Reform at Elgin; but it is of such vast and of such immediate importance, that I want to say a little more about it. I do not know if any of you read an excessively interesting article in the *Times* of September 14th, on the "Army of Young Austria." If you did, you will have seen something of the wonderful change that has come over the whole spirit of that army since the terrible disaster of Königgrätz. The whole service is rapidly becoming filled with a new spirit. The stupid old Generals who led the soldiers to disaster on so many battle-fields, and were called by them "gray asses," are disappearing fast. The examinations are extremely severe; even the cavalry, never supposed to be the most studious part of an army, being required to go through the following training:—"On first joining, or within a year, the cadet must pass an examination in German, history, geography, and mathematics, the last not very high. His duties are in all respects those of a common soldier, except the dirty work, such as cleaning stables, etc. He must learn to clean a horse, but is not bound to practise the art after it is acquired. He must, meanwhile, prepare himself for the preliminary examination given above, if he has not passed it at first. He then joins the divisional school, where he goes through a two years' course of study to prepare for an examination of a more severe character. The subjects on which his knowledge is tested are mathematics, including geometry, algebra, and trigonometry; fortification; general history, special attention being given to Austrian military history; geography, general, but specially that of Austria and Germany. Nor is this subject considered to be known if a mere list of names have been acquired. The cadet must know the depth and breadth of rivers at all important military points, the position of fords, the general geological features of

mountain ranges, the height of mountains and passes, all the roads, railways, and fortresses in the Empire, with their capacities for traffic and defence." Now, while this is going on in what used to be the most aristocratic service in Europe, what are we doing? Grinding the everlasting old tune about superior attainments not being necessary for officers who do not belong to the scientific corps, and all the other weary common-places which had a certain truth while other armies were officered no better than our own. We provide our troops with breech-loaders and improved artillery. Are we going to do nothing to provide them with improved guidance? Or are we not only to have the pleasure of fooling away incredible sums upon our armaments, but the all but certainty that, if our fleet in any way fail us, we too shall have a Königgrätz? Gentlemen, that is a luxury which we, at least, cannot afford, and the influence which keeps up the present state of things will be the very first to suffer by it. If this nation, whose resources for war, were they well applied, are so infinitely greater in these days of coal, iron, and science, than they have ever been before, should ever suffer a national humiliation, all I say is, Heaven help those under whose leading it suffers such a humiliation. I call, then, upon all those who pull the strings of the army, and profit by existing abuses, to look well to this matter. There is nothing that touches them so nearly. They keep up back-stairs influence, favouritism, purchase, and elegant inefficiency in the army, at the risk of their own position in the State.

Mr. Bright concluded his address by a very striking peroration, in which he called upon every one to lend a hand in attempting to deal with pauperism, that tremendous drag upon the energies of the country. There cannot certainly be any greater or more important object than this, but I think we have reason to hope that some of the agencies which will be quickened into new life by the change that has recently come

over us, will give us fresh strength for dealing with this terrible evil. Above all, I look to education; but even education will not work miracles. There must be a steady and searching reform in almost every branch of public affairs. We must set ourselves to pursue a new ideal—the elevation of the whole people. This task, if we set about it in earnest, will become easier as time goes on. Every one who is educated, and raised from being an enemy to society, will become in some sense a helper of society. This policy is the only true and worthy kind of levelling up. By the way, that phrase "levelling up," which has been so much used with reference to the Tory scheme for endowing the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians in Ireland, so as to bolster up the Irish Establishment, first came into our political literature through a pamphlet of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's; but the expression was borrowed by that gifted Irishman from a native of the United States, with whom he was talking about democracy in America. "You in Europe," said this gentleman, "misunderstand the spirit of our American institutions. You think that we want to level down; but what we want to do is to level up." When we have levelled up in that sense, and not till then, we shall see the true fruits of democracy in its best acceptation—the rule, that is, of an intelligent and educated people by itself. We shall then go on from strength to strength, subduing one natural force after another to man's uses, till, as has been admirably said, "the inequalities which prevail in human life, so far as they are the result of artificial and not of natural causes, will diminish and disappear more and more, till even the lowest classes in the social scale will be raised to a level of well-being hitherto unknown and unimagined."

AT THE HUSTINGS AT ELGIN, *November* 16.

GENTLEMEN—Returned a fourth time for this constituency, which extends over so large a part of North-Eastern Scotland, I need hardly say that I thank you from my heart, or that I feel myself in a very proud position, and in one that makes it imperative upon me to labour with increased zeal for the advancement of all wise and rational progress.

In a few days, we shall be able to form a better estimate than we can at present of the immediate effects of the extension of the franchise, but the results of the canvass seem unusually satisfactory. In the Liberal Counties and Burghs, at least, the new voters have quietly taken their place beside the old, just as if they had voted ever since 1832. I have seen no traces of jealousy, or of attempts to aim at different objects, either in one set or in the other. There is another feature in the canvass which seems to me very encouraging. I have never known an election at which so many men of exceptionally high education and ability, not hitherto in public life, were fighting in the ranks—of course, on the Liberal side. Mr. Roundell, who is contesting Clitheroe, counted up, I see, the other day, as many as twelve candidates belonging to what we may call the new school at the English Universities, who are doing battle for the good cause.

Again, I have not observed in any addresses or speeches which have come under my notice, almost any of that flattery of the newly enfranchised, and especially of working-men, which is just as wicked as the flattery of kings or nobles. That something of the kind has been going on in England, I judge from some remarks made the other day in Tavistock, by Mr. Arthur Russell, a very silent member, who is, nevertheless, one of the most judicious and high-minded politicians,

as well as one of the most accomplished men, who sits in our or any other Parliament. If, however, there had been very much of it, I think I should have observed it.

The first task of the Liberal party in the new Parliament must be, of course, to transfer the administration of the country to the hands of statesmen in whom the country has confidence. Within a few weeks, we shall, I trust, see a Liberal Cabinet, whose power of skilful contrivance, fertility of resource, and zeal in that which its hand findeth to do, will be represented by Mr. Gladstone, acting both as real and as nominal Prime Minister. In that Cabinet, the presence of Mr. Bright will, I hope, be a guarantee for wide popular sympathies, and a determination to work for the reduction of armaments; while the presence of Mr. Lowe will be a guarantee for the testing of all proposals by a keen and sceptical intellect, which may anticipate the objections likely to be raised in the House of Commons or in the press.

Some of our friends seem to be afraid that our majority will be too large, but they may calm their apprehensions. No Government, with a strong majority behind it, perishes except through its own fault. Do you imagine that the great Palmerston galleon would have gone down in the bad weather of the 19th February 1858, if it had been in a thoroughly seaworthy state? Do you imagine that a mere puff of wind, not from the Cave of Æolus, but from the much less dangerous Cave of Adullam, would have caused the great Russell steam-ship to founder, with all hands, in the summer of 1866, if it had not been steered straight on the rocks just as it was leaving harbour? I hope, however, that the faults which caused the loss of one vessel will not recur, and that the rocks on which the other was steered are marked by a light.

It is seldom that one can calculate on a political victory giving sincere pleasure to all the best men, both in the suc-

cessful and unsuccessful party. That, however, will be the case with the victory to which we are looking forward. It is well known that the Conservatives, who are really Conservatives on principle, although they may have, rather than break up their party, acted under Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli during the last two years, have done so bitterly against their will, and under a sense of the deepest personal humiliation. These gentlemen will be only too happy to escape from a position at once painful and absurd, and take up the only attitude that Conservatives can well take up in a progressive country, that namely, not of the Executive, but of a drag upon the Executive.

When a Liberal Administration is once more at the helm of affairs, its first duty will be to bring forward, and to carry through with all its strength, a measure or measures which shall settle that part of the Irish difficulty with which legislation can most easily deal—the question of the Irish Church.

The distinct opinion which I have found everywhere prevailing throughout this part of Scotland in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, confirms me in the view that I used a wise discretion in not repeating the well-worn arguments, which prove to demonstration that that institution should no longer cumber the earth. In all this part of the Island only one protest has been made in its favour. That protest was made, you will recollect, by certain clerical gentlemen connected with the Synod of Aberdeen. I read that protest with pleasure, not from a coincidence of sentiment, but from a very different cause. In the rough October days, it is an agreeable thing for us who, though dwelling far north, are not, unhappily, Hyperboreans—do not, that is, dwell behind the north wind—it is an agreeable thing, I say, for us to be carried to the south—and carried to the south I certainly was by the protest—not to Paris, where the

sacerdotal power has not of late been in the ascendant—not to Florence, where the priest has also had in our days a somewhat rude lesson—but farther still, to the Vatican and the Quirinal and the Church by the Latin Gate. So true it is that, whenever ecclesiastics, stepping out of their natural province—the relations of man to the invisible—arrogate to themselves the right of treating political questions from what they conceive to be a higher point of view than that of us poor laymen, they catch, however unwittingly and unwillingly, something of the tone of him who alone among mortals has addressed to him the proud words, "Receive this tiara adorned with the three crowns, and know that thou art the Emperor of Emperors, and the King of Kings."

But, in all sober sadness, and in all kindness, I would ask the clerical gentlemen to whom I allude, who are separating themselves so widely from the opinions entertained by the great mass of the Scottish people—"Are you pursuing a wise and a politic course? Separating yourself from the people in politics, by what charm do you mean to retain or to recover your influence? Is it by deep theological learning, by a minute acquaintance with all that modern research has done for the illustration of the Bible? Are you, week by week, popularising the results of all the exegetical knowledge that you acquired in your college days, and to which you are adding by constant and assiduous study? Are you doing, in short, that work of enlightenment for the higher part of man, which the newspaper press is now doing so admirably for the mere secular and every-day part of him? If you are not, gentlemen, doing this, then, in the name of wonder, what are you doing? and what do you propose to answer when the spirit of the times steps up to you, too, and asks you to state the reasons of your existence? Is it not just possible that, before very long, if you can do nothing better for them than fraternise with the Archbishop of Armagh, a worthy man, but the head of

a condemned institution, your people may say some fine morning, with no gentle accents—

> 'Is it for this that we have riven the mighty chains of old,
> The king-craft, and the priest-craft, the grandeur and the gold?'"

When the question of the Irish Church has been put in the way of settlement, I trust that we may see many other reforms set about. As to what the chief of them should be, I have expressed my views pretty fully in the course of my canvass, but I know only too well that, when the Parliament that is now being elected has come to an end, the amount of work done will be far less than we at present fondly anticipate. "Slowly, very slowly," as the poet said, "goes the history of the world;" and only too much to be remembered by all Reformers is the Spanish proverb, "However early one gets up in the morning, the dawn comes never the sooner."

These sobering reflections, however well founded, should not, nevertheless, be allowed to cloud our joy in the prospect, which a few days more will turn into a certainty, of an unprecedented Liberal triumph. Let us work together, in hope and confidence, and if we do not get all we wish in the lifetime of this generation, we shall at least get a great deal, and hand down to our children a more assured future at home, and a cosmopolitan position in an age of peace, far greater than any which our country occupied in the ages of war. I have now nothing more to say to you, but to thank you once more sincerely for the honour you have now done me, and propose a vote of thanks to Sheriff Smith for presiding on this occasion.

1869.

GENTLEMEN—The Session which came to an end upon the 11th of August last will be for some time remembered as one

of the most important, and as one of the least interesting, in our recent history. Most important it was, because, to say nothing of the large number of useful secondary measures which it carried through, it removed a great stumbling-block out of the road of our national progress, and a great stain from our national scutcheon. Very uninteresting it was, because the principles on which the Irish Church measure had to be framed were decisively settled by the voice of the country, at the general election, and nothing was left to discuss except matters of detail.

Such then being the *record* of the Session of 1869, to borrow a convenient Americanism, I do not propose to-night to repeat a story which has been already often told, up and down the land, and which will be frequently repeated during this season of "extra-Parliamentary utterances." I would rather, with your permission, speak of the matters to which my own attention has been specially directed since we last met, for it has always been my habit, in these autumn meetings of ours, a habit of which you, I think, have approved, to enlarge chiefly on those subjects which are uppermost in my mind, for the time being. I know no other expedient for preventing what should be useful both to the hearers and to the speaker degenerating into a mere tedious formality.

I intend, you will see, to speak chiefly about the affairs of that great empire, in the management of which I, as your representative, was called last December to take a part, and with which Scotchmen are, and have so long been, closely connected. In order, however, that the change of scene may not be too abrupt, let us move together slowly to the eastward, noting a few facts of peculiar interest to us in the regions through which we pass.

The international relations of what have of late been the dangerous countries, have during the last few months become

more pacific; but, on the other hand, the internal condition of France has become full of unrest. When France is full of unrest, her neighbours can no more afford to look on with perfect unconcern, than can inhabitants of the villages at the foot of Vesuvius when an eruption seems impending. Still, any one who listened for the first echoes of the February days of 1848 in Paris, coming back from Berlin and Vienna, any one who remembers how revolution then leapt from city to city, like the flame-beacon in the Grecian tragedy, and contrasts his present hopes or apprehensions with what he felt then, will have something by which he can measure the vast change that twenty years have produced in the European "climate of opinion." The whole situation of our political State system is now so much less strained and unnatural, so many wrongs have been redressed, so many smouldering fires have burned themselves away, that great disturbances might well take place in France without any like results beyond her eastern frontiers. Let us hope that nothing of the kind will take place. Let us hope that we shall merely be spectators of a peaceful change from a less to a more constitutional state of things. Is it possible that any good to the cause about which I spoke to you so much last year—the cause of a reduction of armaments—may come out of present French complications? I should be very sorry to say that it is impossible.

In North Germany, the provisional situation inaugurated by the events of 1866 still continues. Three Parliaments—the Prussian, the North German, and the Customs, the latter including representatives from Southern Germany, work side by side—a strange spectacle. Prussia, theoretically only the first among her peers, takes counsel with them, as somebody said, much as a dog might do with his fleas. Externally, her relations with France are still those of a neighbour who, willing to be a friend, feels he may at any time become an enemy. No sooner had the troops marched back into garrison from

the crowning mercy of Königgrätz, than they began to work harder than ever, to repair all the shortcomings that had been observed in the campaign, and the Prussian army is certainly now, beyond all comparison, better prepared for war than it was when it poured, three years ago, through the Bohemian passes. Its masters, however, although straining every nerve to enable them, if they must encounter their great neighbour beyond the Rhine, not only to win the campaign, but to win the first battle, are extremely desirous that there should be no fighting. Time they know, *must* do all for them that war *might* do a little quicker, and the last words of Falkland, "Peace! peace!" have been, I suspect, since Nicolsburg, the expression of the secret thought and the master passion of one who was lately the most bellicose of European Ministers.

Austria continues to progress most satisfactorily, so far as purely political measures are concerned, under the guidance of a Ministry taken from the extreme Liberal party. In all that relates to civil and religious liberty she is going from better to better, and is reaping her reward in the applause of the most enlightened portion of the European press. One asks one's-self sometimes, however, especially when one looks at the quotations of the Austrian Funds—Is all this going to last? and if it is, why does the public seem to have so very moderate a confidence in the Imperial-royal finances? Why can we borrow at 4½ per cent, even in India, while Austrian Fives stand at 60, or lower? Does any one doubt the resources of this magnificent empire, the very core and centre of Europe, the finest country that Europe holds? I am afraid that the answer must be that all the evil spirits of protection and monopoly have still possession of the minds of the very men who are the firm supporters of the Liberal party in other matters. It is as if the stronghold of protection, in this country, had been not in the country

but in the towns. The prevailing spirit amongst the manufacturers of Austria is the same spirit which animates that insignificant section of our own manufacturers, who have lately been exposing themselves to ridicule under the name of Revivers. While this position of affairs continues, Austria will be unable to effect these improvements in her material condition, which are absolutely essential to the prosperity of her people. That people will be but too apt to connect their material unhappiness with the Liberal regime, under which they suffer, and advantage may at any time be taken of their discontent by the powerful reactionary party to try to force a return to a more personal system of government. Reaction, however, in Austria means civil war. It means taking the keystone out of the arch of the existing European order. What new combinations might arise from that I know not, and nobody knows. Some things might be better, some would assuredly be worse; but one thing is but too certain—we should have a long period of war and confusion just when our interests in this country, and the interests of all Europe, most urgently counsel peace.

All, however, is not barren throughout the empire, even in the field of material progress. A project which can hardly fail to be of vast importance to Austria, and, I may add, of vast importance to ourselves, seems really about to take form and substance. I allude to the proposed prolongation of the Austrian lines of railway across European Turkey. It is intended that a trunk line, meeting the Austrian system at Szisek, shall run south-eastward, throwing out branches to, among other places, Constantinople and Salonica. I need hardly point out that the completion of a direct line of railway to the Archipelago would revolutionise our whole system of communication with the East, nor that the opening of a direct line of railway from Vienna to Constantinople would go a long way to untie the

knot of the Eastern question, by giving the Power most interested in preventing Russia establishing herself on the Bosphorus, an easy way of checkmating any such design, if, that is, any such design is again really formed.

Russia, "that quarter of the globe between Asia and Europe," is so far removed from most of our sympathies and affinities, that, except on occasions which do not often recur, such as the emancipation of the serfs, her material is always more interesting to us than her purely political development. The terrible marches of the Crimean War taught her rulers the vast importance of railway communication, and the gold of Western Europe, attracted by high interest, has been, of late years, flowing ever faster and faster, to enable her to connect with iron bands her far-reaching dominions. Already she is, amongst other things, intent on forming a railway to Orenburg, by which she may reach the northern portion of her new province of Turkestan; as well as a railway from the Black Sea to the Caspian, which may communicate with a line of steamers, and so with a projected line of railway striking the Oxus at a point somewhat below Khiva, and with a line to the Aral, which is said to be now in progress.

When these routes are completed, which will not be to-morrow or next day, we may begin to think of the recent conquests of Russia in Central Asia as a really integral part of that great country. To some, that is a consummation devoutly to be deprecated. I am not, however, going to re-open the question, which we discussed in the House of Commons,* happily with little difference of opinion, on the 9th of July. I would only observe that all the additional information, oral and written, to which I have had access since I took office, has tended to make me feel more re-assured as to the future of our relations with Russia in the East—as well as more anxious that, when the propitious moment arrives, our rela-

* See Appendix.

tions may not be those of bare amity, but of cordial co-operation. Many changes in Russian views of trade must take place before what I dream of can come about; but my faith in time is large. If people will speculate about the political troubles of the next generation, why do they not turn their attention to the advance of Russia towards China and Japan, rather than towards India? That is the line of least resistance, as anybody may see who, map in hand, will give himself the trouble to devote some attention to the present position of Russia on the Amur. There is matter for many a highly-spiced sensation article in the Russo-Chinese Treaty of the 15th of November 1861. I can confidently recommend it as an alterative.

There is a class of politicians, of whom Mr. Cobden may be taken as an example, who, waiving the national question of loss or gain, turn with impatience from all Indian subjects. They think that we had no right to conquer India, and that no good can come of it. And certainly, if the thing had to be done over again, and done with full knowledge of what was going to be done, the boldest statesman who ever played "double or quits" would think twice before he committed his country to so tremendous a responsibility; but the thing has not to be done over again. India is ours in virtue of the deeds of men long dead, and who only imperfectly foresaw the end of the mighty work in which they were engaged. The only question now is, "Being where and what we are, how are we to comport ourselves?"

A teacher of our own day,* whose lessons have done not a little to break up the old order of Europe as settled at Vienna, starts from the principle that we should always think of our *duties*, never of our *rights*. Whatever may be the value of that maxim, considered as the enunciation of a political truth good for all times and places, certainly in thinking about India

* Mazzini.

this course is the wise one to follow. There we are. All that there was of power and authority in the Peninsula, when we first set foot on its shores, has gone down before us. All that tried to live alongside of us has shared the same fate; or, if that is not literally the case, if the Portuguese are still in Goa, and the French at Pondicherry, if the petty throne* raised on an island rock by the African admirals of the Mogul still stands erect, though the throne of the Mogul himself has crumbled into dust, these are mere nominal exceptions, and for all practical purposes we are alone in the land, Lords Paramount of India.

What, then, are our duties there? They are far too numerous to detail; but the chief are, I think, these: to keep the peace among two hundred millions of men; to raise the material prosperity of the regions subject to our rule to a point to which they could not possibly have attained while split up amongst countless petty rulers, even if all these petty rulers were as virtuous as that princess whom Sir John Malcolm described as goodness personified; to pit the intelligence and science of the West against those terrible natural calamities which are the scourge of that portion of the earth's surface; to curb rivers; to cleanse towns; to lead waters through the desert; to make famines as rare as they have become in Europe; to extend geographical and scientific research through every corner of India, and, as occasion serves, through all those countries adjacent to India, for the exploration of which its rulers have facilities not shared by other men; to raise the standard of justice and administration; to impart all Western culture that can be expected to flourish on Indian soil; to make a royal road for every inquirer who wishes to collect whatever of value to mankind at large has, through countless ages, been carved on stone, or stamped on metal, or recorded in manuscripts, or handed down by tradition throughout

* Jinjeera.

Southern Asia; to offer to the youth of Britain their choice of a variety of careers, by all of which, in return for good work done to the natives of India, which those natives of India cannot in the present stage of their history do for themselves, an early and honourable independence may be won far more easily than in this country of over-crowded professions and fierce competition; to increase the riches of the world by developing, to the fullest possible extent, the resources of one of its most favoured portions; and to hold in no spirit of narrow monopoly, but from the mere necessity of the case, the keys of the gates by which the greater portion of that wealth flows out to bless mankind; to give to all other nations an example how a strong race should rule weaker ones;—these are some of the principal objects which are within our reach, and towards the attainment of which we are steadily advancing.

Is it a small thing to keep the peace among two hundred millions of men? Make every allowance for the shortcomings of our rule admitted or alleged, and yet how great a gain to the sum of human happiness does this one fact of peace represent! Just contrast the quiet of the last ten years with the turmoil and misery of the long period of decomposition that preceded the time when we became supreme. Take a scene from the second decade of this century:—"It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day; there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard except the rushing, the trampling, and neighing of the horses, and the rumbling of the gun-wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the fields, the bullocks breaking from their yokes, the wild antelopes startled from sleep bounding off, and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation, which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it moved." Unhappily, it was not always that these "whirl-

winds of cavalry" burst over bulwarks as well qualified to resist them as was the case on the day to which this passage alludes. Too often they burst over defenceless or half defenceless provinces, and then the short history of what they did may be summed up in the words, "The land was a garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness." To that form of evil at least, while the British rule is undisputed, there is an end for ever.

The same far-reaching dominion which enables us to keep the peace amongst the rival races of India enables us to undertake works which only rulers obeyed through vast breadths of territory could even dream of. Such is the Great Trunk Road, running 1423 miles from Calcutta to Peshawur, the north-western gate of the empire. Such are our telegraphs and our railways, of which last so much has been said lately, but whose present extension, great as it is, is but a commencement of greater things, and which are, so to speak, actually making India before our eyes; weaving together, perhaps not without some danger to us, populations which have been hitherto as much strangers to each other as those of Norway and Bavaria. But some one may say—Is it wise to make improvements which, however advantageous to the natives, may be inconvenient or even dangerous to ourselves? I cannot answer that objection better than in the words of Lord Metcalfe: "The world is governed by an irresistible Power which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of men against the operations of its almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of futurity; but, if we withhold blessings from our subjects from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep

our dominion; we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, the hisses and execrations of mankind."

It has been truly remarked that during the last decade which has been, throughout nearly the whole of its course, a time of profound peace in India, that country has suffered from an extraordinary number of natural calamities. There was the famine of 1860 through the wide North-west. There was the cholera, and there were the Bengal floods of 1861. There was the hurricane of 1864. There was the Orissa catastrophe of 1866; and 1867 was made sad by renewed cholera and hurricane. Some of these calamities are, in the present state of our knowledge, unavoidable; but if the recurrence of others cannot be prevented, at least their intensity may be diminished, of course not by measures carried out in a day, or in a year, but by slow and tentative processes. Already the intensity of Indian famines has been considerably diminished. Exceptionally frightful as was the Orissa disaster, it was not nearly so bad as the famine of 1770, described in Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal.* Improved communications, enabling the surplus of one district to overflow into another, have done, and are doing much, but the replanting of tracts that have been stripped of wood, and irrigation, will, it is hoped, be deeper and more powerful remedies.

Many millions have already been spent in irrigation, but, in dealing with India, we are dealing with a continent rather than a country in the European sense, and a long array of millions goes but a little way. We are doing, however, all we can. Everywhere our engineers are busy—completing the Madras system by utilising the minor rivers, as the great ones, like the Godavery, have been utilised already—making reservoirs in the Bombay Presidency—scheming how to make the Punjab into a magnified Lombardy, as Major Chesney puts it—carrying out the scheme which private enterprise began

on the coast of Orissa. Some £510,000 was allotted to irrigation in 1864-5. Next year, the amount rose to £522,000; then to £645,000; then to £966,000; then to £1,205,000: while now, in 1869-70, it has gone up with a great leap to £1,779,000.

But it is not only against famine that we are making war, many forms of disease are being attacked. The creation by Sir Stafford Northcote of a separate committee for sanitary matters, in the Council of the Secretary of State, shows how much interest is now felt at head-quarters in this subject, and the blue-book laid before Parliament by the Indian Office last summer, detailing the progress of sanitary efforts in India, contains, I think, matter that will be not a little valuable to sanitary reformers in Europe. Large sums have been spent of late years for improving the navigation of our rivers, nor has less been done for protecting the land from inundation, and the fevers that too often follow it. Still, like Russia, we are fighting against space, and in both cases the word *we* denotes a mere fraction of active-minded persons, official and non-official, amongst millions upon millions dull with the torpor of ages. The history of the Hurdwar Fair in 1867, and of the manner in which cholera broke out then, in spite of the efforts of Henry Robertson and others, is very instructive, and, if discouragement were allowable to the rulers of India, I would add somewhat discouraging.

We have had so much to do inland that we have thought less of the sea and of the coast than a nation of seamen might have been expected to have done, though the charts of Horsburgh and others should bring us some credit. Carwar and Kurrachee are the two names which rise first to the memory in connection with harbour-improvement in India, but we have still, I must admit, a great deal to expend before the Indian sea-board, which is exceptionally wanting in good natural ports, is put in a proper condition. In the matter of

lighthouses we stand perhaps somewhat better. We have, exclusive of light-ships and the like, over forty scattered round the coast, from the mouths of the Indus to Double Island off the shore of Burmah. Some of these, as, for instance, that on the Alguada reef, are very considerable works ; and it is now intended, partly at the expense of the Indian Government, to give the same ability which has been employed in fighting against the wild waves of the Channel at the Wolf and the Bishop an opportunity of fighting against those of the Indian Ocean on the Great Basses rock near Ceylon.

But while we are subduing nature to the use of man in India, we are doing not less in making her yield up her secrets. If we would know what has been done there for Geographical Science of late years, we cannot do better than spread out on a table Major Rennell's map, which was excellent in its day, and beside it any new map of India, say Keith Johnston's for example. The difference between them will mark our progress; and when the Grand Trigonometrical Survey is completed, and the huge Government Atlas of India is also completed, we shall have even better maps for general use than we have now. Colonel Walker, the Superintendent of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey, has lately constructed a new and extremely valuable map of Central Asia, besides directing explorations beyond the Himalayah, and performing other services to science; while Colonel Thuiller, the Surveyor-General, has been superintending the Topographical and Revenue Survey, and the engraving and multiplication of many valuable maps. A most careful Revenue Survey is also progressing under Colonel Priestley in the Madras Presidency. A Geological Survey of India has been going on for a good many years, eighteen I think; but the staff, though active and zealous, is not large, and no very great portion of the vast area over which its operations are to extend has been yet examined, the finished portions looking like mere islands

in the white waste of the map, which is published in Dr. Oldham's annual report. Something is being done for the economic side of Botany; but the scientific Botany of India is still in a chaotic state, and the great *Flora Indica*, planned some years ago, is at a stand-still for want of workers.* We still want a complete census of British India; but in 1871, I hope we shall get this. We still want a gazetteer tolerably representing the extent of our present knowledge, and to this, too, the Government is directing its attention. We still want better arrangements for circulating among the public the vast stores of geographical information hived up in our repositories, and we still want a systematic geography of India.

We may point with satisfaction to many books of travels in our own dominions, which have increased the world's knowledge, some of them having a literary value, like *Heber's Journal* and *Jacquemont's Letters*, most of them important only for the information which they contain. But this is not all. Nearly every country round our border has been explored more or less, as the names of Pottinger, Conolly, Wood, Vigne, Moorcroft, Cunningham, Bryan Hodgson, to mention only a few, may well remind us.

I cite these names in no spirit of exultation, as if we had done all that geographical science had a right to ask us to do. We have done much, but not, I think, enough. I doubt whether, making all allowance for the undoubtedly enormous difficulties, we learned enough about Thibet in the long interval which elapsed between Turner's mission, in the days of Warren Hastings, and the explorations of Captain Montgomerie's Pundits. I doubt whether we have properly utilised our position in Burmah for learning all that is to be learnt about the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. In that quarter we began well, as the journeys of Macleod, and Richardson, and

* This (April 1871) is, I am happy to say, no longer the case—thanks to that true friend of India, Dr. J. D. Hooker.

Hannay, and many others, show; but the zeal of the Government began to flag, not unnaturally, when it saw that no immediate gain was going to come to trade from exploration in those regions. In our own day, we have seen the old, old project of a direct communication between the Bay of Bengal and Kiang Hung revived and preached by the Epigonians, as a panacea for the stagnation of the trade of Manchester and Huddersfield. Strange that none of the people who have lent an ear to these sermons ever found out that this grand new trade project proposed to them was but, so to speak, part of the left-off wardrobe of poor, much-reviled John Company.

While, however, it is the duty of the Indian Government, when it is asked for information, as it was on the 30th of July last, to discountenance the notion that somewhere behind its Burmese provinces there is a new Eldorado,

> "A treasure land, where a daring hand has only to glean and gain,"

I think it is also its duty to follow up and finish the work which it began more than a generation ago, so that, when the time comes that Western China is in a position to enter into direct relations with her neighbours, we may be able to take advantage of any trade-gates that may be opened at any point from Assam right round to Kiang Hung, or beyond it. Meanwhile, by extending geographical knowledge, we shall be fulfilling a not less important, if perhaps less obvious duty. No one can look at the long valley of Assam without observing that it points like a finger towards China, or hoping that the day may come when there may be a communication between it and the Yang-tze. By our last accounts, Mr. Cooper, the daring traveller who last year attempted to penetrate from China to India, has gone to the upper part of Assam, with the view of penetrating, when he has sufficiently felt his way with the independent tribes upon the frontier, from India into China. Already an employé of the British Government has

in an official report looked forward to the time when the journey from England to India shall be performed really overland; when, that is, there shall be a tunnel under the English Channel, a bridge over the Bosphorus, a railway to the shore of the Indian Ocean, and along the Mekran coast. The mighty mountains at the head of the valley of Assam still keep their secret. The region between Sudyah and Bathang, as well as the districts immediately to the north and south of it, are shrouded to us in profound mystery; but no one has yet a right to say that a way may not be found some time or other through this land of the Sphinx, or that it is absolutely impossible that the Shanghai merchant of next century may, after reaching the Indian frontier by the railway route I have just been sketching, continue it overland, first across India, and then across China.

About the improved administration introduced by our countrymen, there cannot, of course, be two opinions, and I am proud to believe that, whatever may be the views entertained in some quarters, rightly or wrongly, about the procedure of our courts, and the uses to which it is sometimes applied, the honourable feeling of English gentlemen, brought to bear on the decision of cases, is gradually raising the whole Indian ideal of justice. I wish we had taken to India as good a notion of jurisprudence as of justice. Here and there we can point to some admirable things that we have done. The Indian Penal Code, for instance, the chief framer of which was Macaulay, is one of the best in the world, as well in form as in substance; but the want of anything like a legal university, or system of legal education in England, disastrous in its effects at home, is even more disastrous in India.

I confess I felt ashamed of the legal institutions of my country, when a youth from Madras, who had obtained a Government scholarship, came to talk to me the other day about entering at an Inn of Court. The fact that the youth to whom

I allude has gained a Government scholarship of £200 a-year for three years, shows that he has application as well as ability; but it is literally true that, should he determine to enter at an Inn of Court—a very costly operation—he may, for all the authorities of the Inns of Court will know to the contrary, spend his three years of pupilage in absolute idleness. At the end of them, if he has been present at thirty-six dinners which he need not eat, has been present at certain lectures, to which he need not listen, and has paid certain fees, which he must pay, he will go back to India as much a barrister as the Attorney-General himself.

As to what we are doing for education, I will say nothing. I had occasion lately, in the House of Commons, to state some of the principal facts respecting it. The process, however, which is going on of interpreting the East to itself, and of gaining for Western civilisation whatever knowledge it has to give, requires some remark. Look at the labours of our learned societies in India itself, and of their sisters in Germany, England, and the United States. Consult the reports in which Professor Mohl formerly, or M. Renan now, sums up for the Asiatic Society of Paris the labours of the year in the wide field of Asiatic literature. Turn to the remarkable address which M. Garcin de Tassy annually delivers when he recommences his Lectures on Hindostani at the College de France.* Ask the great non-British Orientalists, and you will not be left in doubt as to the facilities that have been given to students by British rule in India. There are few things, it has been justly observed, more remarkable in the history of human knowledge than the rapidity with which European *savans* have mastered so large a portion of what Asia has to tell. It has taken some four hundred years to bring us to our present acquaintance with Greek and Roman antiquity;

* Unable to deliver it in 1870, he nevertheless published it at Caen, where he had taken refuge.

and yet what conquests have the Orientalists, following the lead of our countrymen, made in less than a fourth part of that time! As Professor Mohl said in 1865, "all the beginners of these studies might, with the exception of Sir William Jones, have been among the personal acquaintance of some of those whom he was addressing;" and let it not be forgotten that one of the many results of all this has been the creation of a quite new and most fruitful science—the science of language.

It is not written documents alone that are giving up their secrets. Men like Fergusson, and Cunningham, and Thomas, to mention only three out of many names, are gathering knowledge for us from the most unlike and diverse objects—from the carvings on the walls of gigantic temples, down to the legends upon coins. It was in 1867 that the Government of India first turned its attention to a survey of the architectural treasures in its vast dominion, and that survey is now proceeding, though much will have to be done before it has been got into a proper and satisfactory shape. I am afraid indeed that, although a great deal is done by the Indian Government, both at home and in India, for the encouragement of literature, science, and art, it may admit of question whether this side of our affairs has ever been put on a sufficiently systematic footing.*

Far less important to mankind at large than our encouragement of study and research, but an addition in their own way to the sum of human happiness, are the various careers which we have opened in India to British merit and ability. First, we have the Civil Service, some fifty appointments in which are given away every year by competitive examination. There is certainly no career at home which offers anything like the same field to young men of character and ability who are not independent of their own exertions, so far as fortune

* Now (1871) General Cunningham has been sent out to organise the Archæological operations.

is concerned. The same man who, if he devoted himself to the Bar, would, after a dozen years of work, just be beginning to creep into business, would, in India, after the lapse of precisely the same amount of time, be very possibly ruling a province, and acting as a sort of earthly Providence to perhaps a million of men.

Then there is the Staff Corps—that portion of the officers of her Majesty's Army which devotes itself to an Indian career, and the tendency of which is to become as much an hereditary service as the old Company's Army, without many of the inconveniences which accompanied that great and famous institution—although, no doubt, like most sublunary things, not without inconveniences of its own. Then we have the Forest Service, for which we require young men who like headwork, but prefer headwork in the open air. Applications which I have sometimes received make me think that some people imagine that this is a service which will suit fine well-grown idle young men; but I hasten to correct this misapprehension. The competitive examination by which these appointments, of which twelve, I think, will be offered next year, are given away, is a difficult one, and success in it requires no small amount of mathematical and general scientific ability; nor must it be forgotten that, after the examination is over, the successful candidates are required to pass some time in hard study in the great forest colleges at Hanover or Nancy. Then comes the Telegraph Service, in which fifty appointments, I think, will next year be given away after having been competed for amongst persons who have received nominations to compete, provided, that is, the candidates show a certain degree of proficiency. Then we have the Medical Service, with some forty appointments a-year filled up by unrestricted competition.*

* The numbers given in these two paragraphs will hardly hold good for the next few years.

Last, and far from least, we have our Engineering Service, which is about to be organised on a very large scale, a scale commensurate with the extensive works which the Indian Government proposes to carry out without the intervention of joint-stock companies. Hitherto, the supply of engineers which we have obtained by open competition has not been sufficient for our wants, either in respect of quantity or quality, and we find it quite necessary to make new arrangements. Further, there are the various Legal Appointments, some of them very highly paid. There are the Educational Appointments. There are the Chaplaincies. There is the Police, and there are many other miscellaneous appointments, on which I need not touch. A very large proportion of the whole is practically, if not also nominally, open to competition; and of those which are not, very few indeed, I am happy to say, are given away in this country, so that India, though now, happily, governed by Parliament, is kept free from Parliamentary influence in the bad sense of that term.

I turn now to what we are doing and hoping for in the way of trade. Of all our Indian products, that which is most interesting to the Government at present is, of course, cotton; for, although cotton is not king, he is an uncommonly good subject—and his interests must be most carefully looked after. I am happy to say that the amount of cotton exported last season, 1868-69, rose to 697,630,796 lbs., while for the season before it was only 614,056,049 lbs. I have no doubt that there will be a steady improvement both in quantity and quality, if, as there is every reason to expect, the present demand goes on. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy have the extension and improvement of our cotton-supply much at heart, and we have already some active officers who are engaged in doing their very best to promote them—Mr. Rivett Carnac, for example—and the number will no doubt increase.

When Government, however, has done its utmost, a vast deal will remain to be done. Enlightened self-interest must be the real driving-wheel, the enlightened self-interest of persons in this country who want cotton, and the enlightened self-interest of the Indian peasant who wants rupees. But cotton does not stand alone. Silk is exported from India to the amount of about £1,500,000 a-year, and increased attention is now being directed to it. Tea, chiefly from Northern India, is beginning to take a very high place in the London market. About 8,000,000 lbs. are annually exported, and there is some reason to hope that a new demand for it may soon arise in Eastern Turkestan. We are coming into closer connection with this long-sealed country, from which, till the other day, no European is known to have returned for more than two and a half centuries. Mr. Shaw, an Indian tea-planter, has just succeeded in passing unharmed, a good many months in Eastern Turkestan; and so has Lieutenant Hayward, who was sent out on a scientific mission by the Geographical Society, and to whom that body has just granted £300 to enable him to explore Pamir, "the high mountain cradle" of the Oxus, which has been hitherto better known to poetry than science. All this shows an advance; but, stranger still, we were surprised last Wednesday, at the India Office, by a visit from a Government official who has just come home on leave, bringing with him a companion whom he vouched for as a real live native of Yarkand, the very first, I should think, who had ever appeared in England. Of coffee, chiefly grown in the southern hills, about 37,000,000 lbs. are exported. The Cinchona plantations, a new creation of British forethought, are flourishing exceedingly, and attempts are being made to introduce the Ipecacuanha, which is as potent in acute dysentery as is the Cinchona in malaria fever. Indigo has long brought great riches to the land, and additional seams of coal are being ever and anon discovered. The Head

of the Geological Survey, in his report for 1867, puts the approximate increase of coal raised in India from 1858 to 1866 at over 170,000 tons.

We must wait, I am afraid, till taste is more generally extended at home before a sufficiently large market is opened for another class of the products of India. Few people who have not visited the museum at the India Office, or inspected the collections at the great exhibitions in London or Paris, know how much in the art of decoration we have still to learn from our fellow-subjects in the East, or how beautiful are the jewellery, the textile fabrics, and many other things which can be supplied by them at a surprisingly low price. I have often wondered why there was no agency in London, on something like an adequate scale, for the regular sale of Indian art products.

We may regret these and other gaps in our Indian trade, but they will all in time be filled up. Uses will be found for a thousand articles, the very names of which are as yet hardly known in this country. Every valuable plant indigenous to other lands, but likely to be of economic value in India, will become naturalised on her soil, and the exports will spring up year after year, far quicker even than they have done of late, though they were at 8,000,000 in 1834-35, and 68,000,000 in 1865-66. The resources of the land are almost unlimited.

But while Government does its part, and I think we may be pretty sure that the efforts of the Indian Government towards making smooth the path of commerce will henceforth only be bounded by the limit of its available resources, and by those considerations with regard to the maintenance of its credit, to which States, no less than private individuals, must attach immense importance, if they would not get their affairs into confusion—are the mercantile men of this country, who call on the Government Jupiter to help them, sufficiently active in helping themselves. Some of themselves say no. A

planter, who writes under the *nom de plume* of N. E. M., tells us, in an extremely interesting and suggestive pamphlet, published at Rugby, that the Government has outstripped the mercantile world in the race to open up India, and adds—"If America had India, she would, with her usual energy, cover that country, enormous though its area is, with a swarm of her own agents, opening markets, creating demands for American manufacture, and, in fact, rushing at each opening for extending trade, to see who shall be at it the first. Contrast England's behaviour with this picture. Her manufacturers growl at Government because there is not a sufficient demand for their goods in India; her mercantile men do the same because her trade is not so active as they desire; but they will not help themselves by sending out their employés to learn the languages, manners, and customs, and wants of India's people; they will not create new markets in the interior, and learn for themselves what are the wants of India; but they trust to a solitary correspondent in each of the Presidencies, who, having more business than he possibly can manage, sends back the stereotyped reply, 'No demand in this market for your goods.' . . . A large English distributing agency all over the far interior will *alone* enable England to find fresh markets for her goods, and such agency alone will enable the poor native producer to get a fair price for his harvests, and encourage him to produce a good and clean staple."

Again, he observes, "I can get within the day, by rail and cart-road, to nine towns averaging 70,000 inhabitants, in no one of which there is one single English merchant. I can reach in the same time five large annual fairs, at each of which 100,000 people come from distant parts. I calculated once that to one of them 250,000 people come annually. These fairs are partly religious, perfectly mercantile gatherings; they last from three days to a week each, and, luckily,

all at different times of the year. What opportunities neglected for disseminating civilisation, and bringing natives into contact with the European merchants, and letting them see and realise the advantages of dealing with honest and straightforward men!" These are only a few out of a great many suggestions which are made by this gentleman, himself, in the fullest sense of the word, a practical man. I do not express any opinion about his views, still less do I wish to use them for the purpose of excusing Government from doing anything which a Government like ours in India can reasonably be expected to do; but, if he is right, it is pleasant to think that an enormous field of success lies open for young men from this country, of small capital and good intelligence. If the Suez Canal turns out as great a success as we all wish, surely the experiment will be tried.

We have heard much since the mutiny of the decrease of sympathy for the natives on the part of their British rulers, and much that we have heard is true; but, in fact, there are two currents, one tending to take the conqueror and the conquered farther from each other, and one to bring them nearer. I have a confident hope that the better of these will prove itself the stronger. The general acceptance of the principle that natives should be more employed than they have been in posts of dignity and influence, is one among many good signs. That there is a great deal even in the present relations of Great Britain and India which might be improved, no fair man will deny; but, nevertheless, I defy any one to point out any case in which the rule of a strong race over weaker ones has ever produced anything like so little misery, or anything like so much happiness.

There is something exquisitely amusing when we find, in a pamphlet by an Austrian military man of the highest rank and importance, an exhortation to Russia to turn away from the Danube, and to "follow her great mission, the civilisation

of Asia, of which a narrow-hearted selfishness makes England incapable, *as India proves!*" That the gallant officer should advise Russia to go anywhere, provided she keeps well away from Vienna is natural enough, but how curiously does the reason which he gives, no doubt in perfectly good faith, illustrate the truth that wild and exaggerated statements about the shortcomings of our rule in India, from the days of Burke downward, have created a wholly false impression among persons on the Continent who ought to be well informed.

It is satisfactory to observe that attention is being more and more directed to the less favoured races of India, the races who possessed the land before our Aryan cousins had seen the Indus. Of this, Mr. Hunter's Preface to his Dictionary on the Languages of High Asia, and Captain Lewin's Report on the Hill Tribes of Chittagong, are recent and interesting indications. As generation after generation leads us on in our task of raising to a higher level of civilisation the whole of Southern Asia, we shall be brought more across non-Aryan tribes, and new problems will be stated for philanthropists and statesmen to work at. I say the whole of Southern Asia; for our position in India brings us into contact with every shore that is washed by the southern sea. We have relations with the sterile tract behind Aden; we have very close, and sometimes very troublesome, intercourse with the more fertile but sadly disturbed shore of Oman. All along the northern coast of the Persian Gulf, we trade with the subjects of the King of Kings. Mekran and Beloochistan are already half Indian in their affinities. We possess, in the Eastern Peninsula, a territory three times as large as Scotland; and, year by year, our influence must inevitably grow stronger in the lands that are ruled by the "golden-footed monarch, the lord of many white elephants."

Some foolish persons have advocated from time to time the annexation of Burmah; but anything more utterly op-

posed to the fixed purpose of H.M. Indian Government it would be impossible to conceive. We wish nothing in Burmah except trade; a trade which will be at least as profitable to its inhabitants as to us. Ever and anon, however, new prospects of trade will open, not only in Burmah, but in Siam, and the small adjoining countries. Nor can there, I think, be any doubt that, as lately pointed out by Sir Bartle Frere, Chinese immigration from the North, and, I may add, Anglo-Saxon immigration from the South, partly British-Indian and partly Australian, are destined to restore far more than their pristine prosperity to regions, some of which have strangely slipped back on the road of civilisation and progress. One is almost tempted to regret, after reading the sketches that have hitherto appeared of the great French expedition up the Cambodia river, that the chief material advantages, if any, from that enterprise, must accrue, in the nature of things, not to our spirited neighbours, but to ourselves.

Well, if this great work of civilisation in Asia is part of our destiny, is it not one reason more, in addition to many even more obvious ones, for pressing forward on the path of true Liberalism? By true Liberalism, I mean, as I have said to you before, bringing our practice into harmony with the teaching of our best theoretic guides. He is but a very short-sighted Liberal who merely sees his way to follow his party through the very next piece of work that lies before it, and they are very unjust to the Liberal party who represent its aims as bounded by mere improvements in machinery. The path of the Liberal party is traced for a long way ahead, and it has work cut out for it, the end of which many of us will never see. To make the army the most perfect weapon which statesmen have ever wielded—small in size, but instinct with science and a model of perfection in its kind; to reform the Diplomatic Service, not by petty and

utterly irrelevant reductions here and there, but by making it really efficient—by creating, that is, in every capital, a nucleus of British influence in the highest sense, and furnishing the Government with a self-acting machine, by which it may be kept informed of everything which it ought to know, so that all improvements made elsewhere may be, if it seems right, imitated here; to make primary education universal; to raise the level of the middle and higher education, and to work all three into one harmonious system; to get rid, as far as is possible, of every artificial shackle upon trade both at home and abroad, so that every nation may work at that for which its position and aptitude best fit it;—these are works which will require long breath, as the French say, and they are only a few out of many that might be mentioned. It is a great task that we have undertaken; but we may take comfort from the words of the poet—

> "O'er grovelling generations past
> Upstood the Doric fane at last,
> And countless hearts, on countless years,
> Had wasted thoughts and hopes and fears,
> Rude laughter and unmeaning tears;
> Ere England Shakespeare saw, or Rome
> The pure perfection of her dome,
> Others, I doubt not, if not we,
> The issue of our toils shall see."

1870.

GENTLEMEN—When I last had the honour of addressing you, I confined myself, almost exclusively, to Indian subjects, so that some two years have gone by since we have had an opportunity of taking together anything like a general view of the political situation. Seven hundred and thirty days more or less—that is not a very long time, if we measure it merely by the clock; but, after making all allowance for the natural tend-

ency of man to exaggerate the importance of the events amidst which he is living, I do not think I am wrong in saying that changes, which would have sufficed to make interesting the annals of a whole generation, have occurred since we looked round the world in company towards the end of 1868.

Our Home changes, great as they have been, have been of the sort of which contemporary opinion always exaggerates the importance. There, for instance, was that great measure, the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. To you and to me the out-turn of the labour, in which we all had a share, looks necessarily very big; but to posterity, to the Afterworld, as the Germans call it, it will hardly do so. The Afterworld will look upon it as merely one, and that not a very interesting, result of the conviction which began to gain ground amongst all nations in the latter part of the nineteenth century, that there must eventually be a separation between Church and State.

The whole stream of tendency is flowing—here quicker, there slower—in that direction. Religion is everywhere becoming more personal, less political. Man is feeling everywhere more and more that the question of his relations with the Infinite must be settled by his own heart and conscience, not by State machinery; and the expressions of that feeling which will sink deepest into the popular recollection will be rather pithy sentences and dramatic acts than the slow labours of Senates. It is a hard saying, but nevertheless, I fear, true, that the half-dozen words uttered by Cavour on his deathbed to Padre Giacomo—"a free Church in a free State"—the very last, by the way, which he ever spoke—will be remembered widely, when all but a few historical students will have forgotten the vast labours of the men who gave their great powers to preparing the Act for disestablishing and disendowing the most effete of Churches. All those labours, I say, will be almost as little remembered, a hundred years hence, as the sufferings of those patient members of Parliament who, weary

night after weary night, and weary morning after weary morning, listened, through the session of 1869, to the lapping of the shallow waters of Opposition oratory against the crags of the Inevitable.

Then there was the Irish Land measure, which looked so large six months ago. That imposed an amount of work and worry upon the persons who conducted it through the House of Commons, and upon the House of Commons itself, which it would not be easy to exaggerate. There is every reason to believe that it will lead eventually to great improvement in the state of Ireland, but it is not a measure that will occupy any very great place in the history of the nineteenth century. The fame that was to be got out of measures of this sort has been long since discounted, for the benefit of Stein and others. So, too, with the numerous minor useful measures that have filled the last two sessions—sessions of grim hard work, less relieved by exciting debates or remarkable incidents than any of the fourteen on which I can look back.

But who can count the yards of wall he has built, or the trees he has felled in the morning, when the afternoon is given over to the earthquake and the hurricane? All these measures seen dwarfed by distance, and we find ourselves, so far as they are concerned, already living with the Afterworld.

People ask each other very often what are their sympathies in this war; and certainly the tragic emotions which the whole hideous drama has called up, have drawn the sympathies of some of one's friends hither and thither in the strangest manner; but the truth is, that when great political issues are at stake, sympathy and antipathy are very unsafe guides. Ever since dispassionate observers became aware that the politically active portion of the French people was determined that German unity should not be established without a struggle, they saw that a collision, in which Germany should be victorious, was all but inevitable. States-

men were right to do their very utmost to postpone that collision, in the hope that some fortunate chance might make wiser counsels prevail on the left bank of the Rhine; but he is not worthy the name of a statesmen who has not long seen that for France to impede German unity, was to try to disturb a chemical process by mechanical means—not, under most conditions, a very profitable undertaking. They have, indeed, been short-sighted, who have not for a long time echoed the words with which, in a dark hour of Prussia's history, General Radowitz, immediately after Olmütz, closed the second series of his *Conversations on the Subjects of the Day.* To say "that the German nation is yearning to rise out of its torn and sunken condition into a true unity; that first through this, and only through this, the revolution can be ended, seems to some foolishness, and to some a stumbling-block; but the Fates will find their way! Farewell! 'The rest is silence.'"

The questions that are really interesting and ought to be answered are, not questions about people's sympathies and antipathies; they are questions about the turn things are taking and likely to take.

The time has by no means come, if indeed it shall ever come, when Europe can dispense with the influence of the French intellect. How far all that is happening now may tend to diminish the influence of that intellect is another question. There are some who tell us that France, deprived of several of her limbs, that is, of Alsace and part of Lorraine, will fall into convulsions and perish. Such language makes one think of the prayer of Paul Louis Courier: "May Heaven defend us from the Evil One, and from metaphors!" No proof whatever can be brought forward to show that a loss of territory to France would be followed by any such result; but there is probably much more reality in the fear that the cutting off from France of her semi-German provinces might have the effect of stopping that infiltration of German thought

which has, for some years, been making her an increasingly successful exponent of German thought and German research to the Latin races. Naturally enough, Frenchmen will, for many a day to come, turn with disgust from most things German; and the loss of their eastern provinces, if they lose them, will only make their feelings more bitter. On the other hand, however, it must be remembered, that the Germans have made themselves so completely masters of many branches of learning, that no Frenchman who feels a real thirst for truth on the highest subjects—"*la grande curiosité*," as it has been termed—can, with the best will in the world, emancipate himself from the intellectual yoke of the Teuton. Nor, again, having once obtained the results from the other side of the Rhine, will he be able to avoid clothing them in the clear and beautiful forms which are characteristic of his national genius.

M. Prévost Paradol, whose untimely fate threw such a gloom over Parisian society a few months ago, but of whom we may almost think now as of one taken away from the evil to come, looked forward with deep melancholy to the prospect that his country would ere long exchange the position of Rome for that of Athens; would cease to be able

"To spare the subject, and war down the proud,"

and would influence the nations of the world only by her intellect, not by her arms. I am afraid he would have been the first to welcome, with a view to avoiding that consummation, this foolish and disastrous war, if, at least, it had been commenced by a Government to which he wished heartily well; for I never heard any one express himself so strongly as I have heard him do, about the necessity to France of the boundary of the Rhine. There was small chance, when he wrote his last book, that France would have to content herself with playing a peaceful part in Europe; but now it really seems as if this were not impossible. Will such a state of

things, if it comes about, be so very calamitous for that great country? Was there not a time when the German empire was the country, *par excellence*, of politics and war, when Paris was the centre of study for all Christendom? We have become so accustomed to think of Paris as the capital of pleasure; the focus of all State intrigue; the fierce and imperious beauty, ever ready to bid her legions sweep across her neighbour's frontiers, that we are apt to forget this well-known historical fact; and now that Barbarossa has at length awoke with a vengeance, and is standing before the walls of a city greater than Milan, we rub our eyes in amazement as if a new thing had come to us. Yet, after all, the truest conquests of France have been the conquests of her intellect. The conquests of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon may be won back, but her intellectual conquests of the eighteenth century will never be won back, till the Seine runs up from the sea. It is not a little remarkable that the last great literary event which happened in Germany before the declaration of war was the publication of a remarkably fair and appreciative biography, by a German, of Voltaire, the most French of Frenchmen. It was the publication of that work which led to the correspondence between Strauss and Renan, which has been not the least remarkable incident connected with the clash of the two civilisations.

But, to come nearer home, what are the chief lessons that we, as a nation, have to learn from the events of the last few months? First, it appears to me that we have to learn that those were right who held, all through the earlier years of the French Empire, that the danger of a sudden quarrel being fixed upon this country by France was very great indeed, because an immense army, eager for war, was at the disposal of a single will, uncontrolled and undelayed by the forms of Parliamentary Government. Every year that has passed since the Commercial Treaty diminished that danger; but up to the eve of that engagement it was very serious. A large

number of French politicians, even as late as the winter of 1859-60, believed that a war with England would be popular with the majority of their countrymen—thanks, chiefly, to the way in which all the worst traditions of the Napoleonic wars had been kept alive in the minds of the masses by Thiers and other Chauvin writers. I remember even so good a friend of this country as the late Count Montalembert saying to me, at the date I have mentioned, "It would be a great risk, but if I were in the Emperor's place, I would make the attempt."

Some of you may recollect that in my address to you last year I made use of the following words:—"No sooner had the Prussian troops marched back into garrison from the crowning mercy of Königgrätz, than they began to work harder than ever to repair all the shortcomings that had been observed in the campaign, and the Prussian army is certainly now beyond all comparison better prepared for war than it was when it poured, three years ago, through the Bohemian passes."

Well, in spite of this assiduous preparation and the extraordinary vigilance of the Prussians, in spite of their determination, which I also mentioned to you last year, not only "to win, but to win the first battle," they were, after all, taken by surprise. If France had been as really prepared as she fancied herself, the history of the first few weeks of the present struggle would have been very different. Now a tempest so sudden as this could not by possibility have gathered in a country controlled by an effective system of Parliamentary Government. For, without for a moment attempting to deny that the desire for war on the part of a large portion of the French people, of all ranks and of all orders of intelligence, was very great, there surely never was a declaration of war that was more entirely the work of one man. Till I see a very good cause to adopt a contrary opinion, I shall believe that when the Hohenzollern withdrawal took place, the

Emperor was himself perfectly satisfied, and that it was only when the military clique had succeeded in making him believe that if he rested satisfied with that compensation to the honour of France, it would not answer for the army, he suddenly changed his purpose and spoke the fatal word. What has happened to Prussia might at any time, from 1851 to 1860, have happened to us.

Another very important lesson for us is to be learnt from the failure of the French arms. But what are the causes of the failure of the French arms? Some of these are, I apprehend, still undiscovered, nor shall we, I think, understand them, until the conclusion of the contest enables us to sift many alleged facts. On others, though clear enough, we need not dwell; but there is one so important and so fraught with instruction to ourselves, that I must mention it. For some time it has been more and more the custom in the French army to despise the higher and more intellectual parts of the military profession. Algeria has set the fashion. The rough and ready rule-of-thumb officer has been the character who has been admired. This did all very well as long as mere barbarians were to be hunted about. It did well enough as long as only the armies of those civilised States were to be encountered, in which science was even more at a discount; but the moment when an army was to be encountered, which was directed by the best lights of military science, the folly of the whole system was at once exposed. The newspapers have been teeming with illustrations of what I am saying, but a story was told me the other day which shows, better than anything else I have heard, the extent to which the anti-scientific mania in the French army has been recently carried. An eminent American diplomatist and *savant* wrote, some years ago, a book of great interest and importance on *Physical Geography as modified by Human Action.* A young French officer applied to him for permission to translate and publish his work. The permission was granted, and the com-

pleted translation was forwarded, according to the rules of the service, to the translator's commanding officer, with a request, that he, in his turn, would send it on to the proper authority, and obtain permission for its publication. Three months passed away, and the translator heard nothing of his work. At last he applied to his commanding officer to know if he had forwarded the manuscript. "No," was the reply, "I have not forwarded it, and I do not mean to do so. A French officer has no right to demean himself by meddling with science. Such trash is only fit for *Pekins*"—a contemptuous term, much used for civilians in the French army. Now, there are few English commanding officers who would dare to use language like that—perhaps none; but the feeling that prompted the language is very largely diffused, as well through our army as through many other portions of English society. It is precisely the feeling which made so many benighted persons go up, a year or two ago, to Oxford to vote against Mr. Max Müller's election—"Not because," as one of them expressed it, "they cared much about the matter in hand, but because they wanted to vote against that d—d intellect."

Is there any other lesson that we have to learn from the disasters of France? Yes; it was not only the collapse of the French army that led to this catastrophe. If France had been well served by her diplomacy, the war with Germany would certainly not have been undertaken, but she was wretchedly served by her diplomacy. She was given to understand that there were strong sympathies for her in Germany, and that she might reckon on very considerable support in the South. Now many of her diplomatists in Germany may have been very clever men.* The Emperor told an English politician some years ago that he always sent his

* *E.g.*—Baron Stoffel, whose admirable report appeared in the *Times* of the 7th April 1871. That such a document should have been disregarded by those to whom it was addressed is truly wonderful.

keenest and cleverest men to the German courts; but these keenest and cleverest men must have been, some of them, wholly unfit for their particular duties. It is an open secret that one of them, on whom the most fearful responsibility with respect to all this dreadful business rests, does not even know German; and the most astonishing stories are told of the extent to which his ignorance exposed him to mystification and error.

Now, of course, nothing of this kind could happen in our diplomatic service. That service, indeed, has much improved in the last ten years, but still I do not think that the extreme importance of getting the very best national eyes and ears which it is possible to get, has sufficiently taken hold of the nation. When questions relating to the diplomatic service have come before the House of Commons of late years, there has been too great a tendency to discuss them, as if the great matter were to save a little money here and there, or to break down the supposed monopoly of a particular class. That is all very well. You can't have real efficiency without enlightened economy, and any appearance of monopoly naturally excites suspicion; but it is a great mistake to allow these quite secondary considerations to let us for a moment forget that what we want in our diplomatic service is supreme efficiency. We want every mission and every embassy to consist of the very best representatives of what is best in herself that England can possibly send. We want them all to be centres of English influence in the highest sense of that term, by which I mean something very different from what was understood by English influence in the days of intrigue and interference. I cheerfully acknowledge the improvements of the last decade; but still more care should, I think, be used in recruiting the service. This might be done in various ways. I myself proposed one plan to the Diplomatic Committee of 1861; but I am in no way wedded to that particular plan, and if once the principle is admitted that the

diplomatic service should be a service *d'elite*, and that the mere fact of belonging to it should be a guarantee of high intellectual distinction, I do not much care how it is carried into effect.

Some people say that there is less need of a diplomatic service than there was. There is less room, thank Heaven, for active diplomatic agents—those troublers of Israel in bygone days—but there is much more room for good national eyes and ears. Recent changes in Germany and Italy have made various posts unnecessary; but, even with a consolidated Germany and a consolidated Italy, there is much to be said for having intelligent reporters attached to the Foreign Office, in several of the minor centres of German and Italian national life. Then, again, observe that while in some parts of Europe consolidation has been the order of the day, in others a precisely opposite tendency has manifested itself. In Austria, for example, half-a-dozen nations, which were three-quarters asleep when even I first knew the country, have awoke to full and extremely noisy national life. He must know uncommonly little about Austria who will venture to say that the Vienna embassy, however well manned, can keep the Foreign Office as well informed as it ought to be about all that goes on at Prague and at Cracow, at Lemberg, at Pesth, and at Agram. Well, now, if one thing is clearer than another, it is that one of the results of the great events of the last three months will be to make the position and future of Austria a matter of increasing and most anxious interest to the statesmen of the West. The Eastern question will present itself in quite a new aspect when this storm is over, and, if English statesmen are to deal with it as it ought to be dealt with they ought to be thoroughly acquainted with all the political facts of Eastern Europe. Lord Strangford, a wise man, too early taken from us, pointed this out some time ago with regard to Turkey, where you have just as much need of ambulant eyes and ears—intelligent re-

porters strictly prohibited from meddling—as you have in Austria.

These, I think, are the chief lessons which we ought to learn; but there are some lessons, which certain evil teachers are enforcing, which I think we ought not to learn, and about which I should like to say a little. There are some people who tell us that we should forthwith remodel our own army on the basis of the Prussian. Don't believe them. The very same people would, if the French had been successful, have urged us forthwith to introduce the conscription. This nation, if it will only will it, can easily have an army quite as good for our purposes as that of Prussia is for her purposes; but an army like the Prussian we could not have, however hard we tried. The two most essential conditions for the existence of that army are not present here. The first of these conditions is the existence of a class which is sufficiently unenlightened to think that the profession of arms is the only occupation to which a gentleman can devote himself, and, at the same time, sufficiently enlightened to know that success in the profession of arms can only be obtained by the same hard work which makes the despised citizen successful as a lawyer, an administrator, or a man of books—a class which, making claims quite as high, in some respects higher, than our own nobility, is at the same time extremely poor, and obliged to work for its living—a class whose most prosperous members, connected, like our own nobility, with the land, have their wits sharpened by being obliged to get out of the land as good a return as a poor soil and a bad climate will give, by direct management, without the intervention of tenants—a class which identifies its own importance with the military laurels of the House of Hohenzollern—laurels which have not been acquired, as in the case of the Bonapartes, by the astounding genius of one individual, but picked up carefully and economically, in true Prussian fashion, here a leaf, there a twig, next a branch, through ever so many centuries. You have

classes infinitely better for your purposes than the Prussian *petite noblesse*, or *Junkers*, or squirearchy, or whatever you like to call them, about whose faults there is enough to be said, but you have no class which could be to your army anything like what they are to that terrible host which rolled only a few weeks ago over the French frontier.

The second condition which is wanting here is that fixed belief of the grave thrifty Spartan middle class of Prussia, that it is only in and through the State that the individual can come to his highest perfection—that worship, for it is nothing short of worship, of the idea of the State, leading the citizen to hold that no sacrifice is too great for her service. It is a feeling quite different alike from the feeling of professional duty and from the passionate poetical feeling, of which we have abundance here, just as they have abundance in Germany, and which is of vast importance in war time—the feeling of patriotism. It is a quiet fixed belief, like the belief that two and two make four, acting on the mass of the Prussian middle class in the most dull and unexciting, as in the most exciting times and circumstances. It is the result, strange to say, of the teaching of one man, not a Prussian, but essentially a German of the South, and, stranger still, the very man, whom nine persons out of every ten who are given to running down Germany, would name, if they were asked to name the man who summed up, to their apprehension, all the cloudiness, all the vagueness, and all the unintelligibility which is usually associated with German philosophy. When the House of Hohenzollern made Hegel, so to speak, its philosopher-laureate, it obeyed a most true instinct.

There are certain other evil teachers, who tell us that all that is happening now will only lead to the formation of another tremendous and most aggressive despotism. And, first, they try to frighten us about the sea. Germany, they say, having made herself overwhelmingly strong upon one element, and being ready and willing to devour all her neigh-

bours, Gauls, Scandinavians, Sclavonians, and what not, will never rest till she becomes a first-class naval power, till she has squadrons in every sea, and colonies over all the earth. All that England will gain will be that, whereas she has been groaning for many a year under the burden of armaments which the warlike policy of France has obliged her to keep up, she will now be obliged to keep up even greater armaments, in order to withstand the still greater power of Germany. Make yourselves easy. That Germany will wish to increase her naval power is very likely and most desirable, but that Germany will be so stupid as to send her squadrons into every sea is, I think, not probable. Neither Swiss nor German merchants would, I suspect, tell you that they had prospered any the worse in distant countries for not having big brothers at their side, always ready to argue with round shot and cutlasses whenever a difficulty arose, and the policy alike of the Foreign Office, the Admiralty, and the Board of Trade, has been, of late years, rather to restrain the enthusiasm of those big brothers, and to advise our merchants to imitate the more pacific means by which Germans and Swiss succeed in pushing forward their trade.

As to Germany becoming our rival in naval power, it is impossible to speak seriously about such a bugbear. No country in the world can come near us as a naval power except the United States, and the recent change from wood to iron ships has most heavily weighted the scales upon our side. Nothing but want of will can prevent us, for many years to come, having a navy unapproachable by that of any other country. And, while on this subject, I must advise every one to read the sentences relating to the present state of our navy in the article, remarkable in more ways than one, which closes the present number of the *Edinburgh Review*. They appear to me so admirably true, and are so striking, that nothing but the length at which I have already trespassed on your attention prevents my reading them to you. I trust some of my

friends connected with the press in this district will supply my omission in their next issue; for you may depend upon it, during the next few months, you will hear much nonsense about the mismanagement of the British Navy.

Then as to Colonies. The two great colonial empires of the world—our own and that of Holland—are connected, in the minds of the British and the Dutch, with a thousand famous moments in their history, and the Dutch still contrive to make a direct profit out of their most important colony; but it is one thing to wish for good reasons, sentimental and other, to keep what you have inherited, and another to wish to have it if you have not got it. Does any one really suppose that any statesman worthy of the name* would deliberately set about tying a colonial empire round the neck of Germany? No, no; the course of that great country is too clearly traced for such a piece of folly as that. The hardy German immigrant is too eagerly welcomed in the colonies of other nations, and the Danube countries are a great deal too near and too tempting to entice Germans to create such equivocal blessings as a French Cochin-China, for example, or, of malice prepense, to encumber themselves even with magnificent Java and her obligations.

Then the same evil teachers attempt to frighten us about the Land. Germany, they say, is mad with the land-hunger. Germans are, in many respects, no better than other people, but it is only fair to give them credit for having got nearly as far in civilisation as ourselves, and we, certainly, have got completely out of the aggressive stage of civilisation. That, before the end of the century, all fairly open questions round all German frontiers will be settled in a German sense, I do not doubt, but the number of these fairly open questions is

* Of course there are a great many people in Germany who wish for Colonies because they fancy a nation cannot be great without them, and others who, with much more reason, wish for them as a rich man might wish for a moor in Scotland, a villa at Cannes, or a hunting-box in Leicestershire.

not, after all, very large, and there is not one which England has the slightest shadow of interest in having settled in an anti-German sense. We have nothing to fear from Germany, except an increasingly keen competition in some branches of manufacture and commerce, and there we have nothing really to fear under a régime of free trade; for under a régime of free trade, it is soon seen for what particular business particular places have exceptional facilities, room is found for all aptitudes, and competition virtually passes into co-operation.

France herself would have had nothing, absolutely nothing, to fear from Germany, if she could only have let well or ill, as she pleased to consider it, alone. And was she not warned, and warned by one who was latterly more a Frenchman than a German? Some of you may remember the words of the terrible prophecy which I quoted at the end of my speech to you in 1867. Have they not come true? Listen. I said—"Were I to say anything of Foreign Politics at this moment, it would only be to ask some of my friends in France to re-read those pages in which, a generation ago, one whom they afterwards came to know well—the invalid of the Rue d'Amsterdam—gave them a solemn, and, as it seems, by no means a superfluous warning. 'When you hear the noise and the tumult of the German Revolution, be on your guard, our dear neighbours of France, and don't mix yourselves up with the business we are about. It may work you harm if you do. Have a care not to fan the fire. Have a care not to extinguish it, for you may very easily burn your fingers! If in bygone times, in our state of indolence and serfage, we were able to measure ourselves with you, we shall be much better able to do so now, in the arrogant intoxication of our young liberty. You know yourselves what a State can do in such a moment as that, and you yourselves are not now in such a moment.'"

For some time after the conclusion of this war, all the

best minds of Germany will be occupied with the question of how best to bring about the political unity of the Fatherland. One might almost say that, since Sedan, they *have* been so occupied, and very right they have been; for there is perfect truth in the common German saying, that their politicians lost, at the Congress of Vienna, and in the years that followed it, most of the advantages which their soldiers gained in the War of Liberation. When that question is settled, there comes the infinitely more difficult one of the relation between the German Provinces of Austria and the rest of the Fatherland. That is probably the greatest and most troublesome question which will remain open in Europe after this war, always excepting the Polish; and he would indeed be a far-seeing statesman who would be able to tell us whether it will be settled without new miseries and convulsions. If it can be so settled, which God grant, many other things, which look very difficult now, will become extremely easy—the Eastern question, for example, or questions, to use a happy variation of an old phrase recently introduced.

Sufficient, however, unto the day, is the evil thereof, and the next thing we have to look for is the welding into one Federative State, as strong for peaceful advancement as it has shown itself for war, of Germany North and South of the line of the Maine. I used to hope and believe that German unity, that greatest political need of Europe, would come about by the gradual grouping of the rest of Germany round a free and progressive Prussia. I held with those who said, "Through Freedom to Unity," as against those who said, "Through Unity to Freedom." The best Germans were with us, but the Hours and the Destinies were with our opponents. Is it not a wonderful thing—but it is as true as it is wonderful—that the "misty philosopher," whom I have already named, was right, and right long ago, when so many poli-

ticians and men of the world were wrong? As far back as 1801, Hegel wrote that "such an event as the welding of Germany into one State, however desirable, and however generally desired, could never come about as the result of reflection, but of force;" and then he goes on to point out how the conqueror—the Theseus who performs this work—must be able to stand up against such hatred as was brought upon themselves by "Richelieu and other great men, who smashed to pieces the differences and idiosyncracies of their contemporaries." It is only right and fair to say this; but then it is equally right and fair to remember that, if blood and fire, Count Bismarck's translation, two generations afterwards, of Hegel's word, *Gewalt*, or force, had not been the method used, Germany might well have reached her Unity nearly as soon, and without paying so fearful a price. I said, a moment ago, that the Hours and Destinies were against us. Perhaps that was too absolute an admission. The play is not yet played out.

Many people believe that, although the French declaration of war effectually solved, for the time, the problem of German unity, the disintegrating forces will resume their sway when peace returns once more. Many well-wishers to Germany shrink from the idea that Suabia, and Baden, and Bavaria will exchange their more genial temperament for the Prussian rigidity and hardness. They wish Prussia to disappear in Germany, not Germany to disappear in Prussia. I wish so too, as earnestly as they can, and it will be so. Prussia will disappear in Germany; but not to-day nor to-morrow—not till she has done her work. And well has the most famous* living Suabian shown his countrymen, within the last few weeks, how necessary it is that they and the other Germans, on the wrong side of the Maine, should be leavened with the Prussian spirit before Germany absorbs Prussia. The passage

* Strauss.

is so remarkable, and has attracted so little notice in Great Britain, that I must read it to you :—

"The war of 1866 and its consequences gave our South Germans much to think of. The present war, there is every reason to hope, will complete the setting right of their ideas. They must see clearly enough that, although they helped with their arms in this contest, it was Prussia that helped with her brains. Without the Prussian plan of the campaign, without the Prussian army organisation, they would, with the best will in the world, in spite of all their strength and all their steadfast manliness, have effected nothing against the French. And it cannot have escaped them that they are still far behind the Prussians, I do not say in courage and valour, but certainly in discipline and exactitude."

This Prussian "discipline and exactitude," this infinite capacity for taking trouble, which the greatest of Germans identified with genius, has sunk very deeply into the mind of all the other Germans, and is the last lesson from the war which I wish to impress upon you. We sorely need it in this country, for we are infinitely too apt to rely upon the mere brute power of our resources, without taking order that those resources should be organised so as to make them as efficient as possible. Wherever we look it is the same thing. Every year our ears are assailed by terrible tales of the destitution of parts of the metropolis ; yet there is money enough devoted to charitable purposes in London, to keep every deserving poor person in comfort, if not in luxury. We have the most magnificent schools in the universe. There is nothing on the Continent of Europe even faintly approaching Eton, for example, and we have thousands of families able to pour out gold like water for the education of their children ; yet the educational results, to the great majority of boys, are, by the admission of the masters of our leading schools themselves, very moderate indeed. We have Universities rich enough to

encourage application to all those branches of human knowledge which do not reap immediate pecuniary rewards; but they squander their resources sometimes on rewarding things that would be sufficiently rewarded without their help, oftener in encouraging forms of mental occupation—I will not dignify them by the name of studies—which had much better be left alone.

If all this Prussian success had been success from aptitude for war, it would have no worthy lesson for us; but the success in war is a mere result of the same qualities which have made Prussia succeed in all the pursuits of peace to which she has seriously turned her mind. In the course of last century, she, and indeed all Germany, found out that they were behind some other countries in science and learning. They set to work, and created a body of learned men, such as the world has never seen, and a literature, which takes rank amongst the foremost. The miseries of the Napoleonic wars convinced Prussia that her army was vilely managed. She created one, which, for her purposes, is super-excellent. Comparison with other nations showed her that her agriculture was detestable; and she is fast turning her sandy deserts into gardens. The great lesson which she has to teach us is, in one word, this—Do not rush at things in a blundering, stupid, or, as it is called, "practical" way; but first listen to the teachings of science and philosophy, then work out the results painfully and slowly. That is the only true practicality. All else is idleness and imposture.

One of the many evils of the present war is that it distracts the attention of our people from the pursuit of national and international welfare. I trust that the moment the war is concluded, the most serious and united efforts towards large disarmament will be made on all sides. France, which has long been "she that letteth," will no longer be able to resist. There is much reason to hope that Germany will be of the

same mind. Even before the disasters of France, it was understood that the King of Prussia had said that, if the Southern States joined the North German Confederation, he would be satisfied with the same number of men. It was most truly observed the other day, in the money article of the *Times*, that France, if she would at once frankly accept free trade, would, in a very few years, recoup herself for the tremendous material losses that she has suffered and has yet to suffer. If there was any hope of seeing in that unhappy country a race of Statesmen, who, combining the commercial ideas of men like Rouher with the capacity to work Parliamentary Government, had also an intelligent comprehension of the European political system, and the relation of their own country to it, one might hope that she would accept free trade, and that speedily; but since the miserable backsliding of M. Ollivier, who, in spite of all that has happened, had more political ideas in common with an intelligent German or Englishman than any French politician whom I ever met, and would have been the first, if not at the helm of affairs, to see the madness of the steersman; since the tragical collapse of statesmanship that we have seen in certain other quarters, it is difficult to see from which of the four winds wisdom is to come to that land which a little wisdom might make so happy. "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so, and what will ye do in the end thereof?"

I trust one of the results of all that is going on may not be to make us lose a prodigious amount of time next session, in or out of Parliament, in military talk. The best way in which the country, which cannot be profoundly versed in military details, can treat suggestions not made on the responsibility of the Government, which has, of course, the fullest information, as to changes in our military system, would, as it seems to me, be to look at the names connected

with these suggestions. If they are the names of really educated officers, whom you could fancy passing with credit an examination where Von Moltke, or Von Roon, an ex-professor, was the examiner; if they are the names of scientific men, like Sir John Lubbock, who made, last session, a most interesting speech on military education—listen to what they have to say, however startling, with the greatest respect; but if the speaker or writer is the ordinary military grievance-monger, meet his observations as an English statesman met a proposal to read history to him—"No, no; we know that's not true."

We in Scotland shall, I suppose, come in at last for a reasonable share of time for our concerns, now that the dead lift to get Ireland out of the Slough of Despond, in which she has been so long lying, is nearly over. I do not wonder that, on both sides of the Tweed, there has been no little irritation at the preposterous amount of time which has been occupied in this Parliament by the affairs of that country; but it was absolutely necessary, and our best reward will be if, ten years hence, Parliament were to hear as little about Ireland as it does in an ordinary session about Scotland. That, I fear, is too good to be hoped for; yet happy is the country whose annals are silent, and whose members of Parliament make few speeches.

Amongst various important measures, to which we have a right to look forward, the most important is a Bill on Education. You know my views on that subject. I have always been a partisan of the system of "united secular and literary, separate religious instruction." I think the Dutch have got over the religious difficulty better than any nation in Europe, but, at the same time, the discussion about the English bill made even more clear—what was clear enough before—that the great majority of the people are not yet in favour of that simple and logical system; though I hope we are nearer it

in the North than they are in the South. That being so, I care a great deal too much for increasing the number of decently educated persons to be able to agree with the policy of those who urge delay until the country comes to a better mind. Let us support the most liberal measure that can be passed through both Houses in the session of 1871. I have no fear that the views which commend themselves to my mind will be long kept back by anything that Sectarianism can now do. The "forts of folly" are very near their fall.

I would fain, according to our now old custom at these autumn meetings, say something to you about what has been passing in the leading countries of the world which are not immediately affected by the war; but there is time only for a hurried word or two. Spain seems to have suffered less than her ill-wishers desired, from the prolonged state of uncertainty in which she has been kept. It is impossible to deny that, since the Revolution, some very good work has been done, and her friends congratulate themselves, amongst other things, on the abolition of differential duties, the recognition by the State in official documents of a Spanish Protestant Church, and the prohibition of dogmatic teaching in elementary schools. The same tide of good fortune, which has of late years carried Italy to so many triumphs, has attended her during this eventful year; and at length for the first time, since, at the close of the Middle Ages, "the lances of France gleamed through the defiles of the Alps," she may be said to have her destiny in her own keeping. I was in Venice when the news of the fall of Rome came thither, and it was a strange sight to see it spreading gradually over the whole of that beautiful city. First came rumours on the Piazza, each man telling his neighbour the message that the telegraph had brought. Then the newspapers sent out, in hot haste, printed slips headed *Roma e nostra*—"Rome is ours." Then flags began to be put out, first of a few windows,

then of many, till at length the great bell of the Campanile rang out over the lagune, and was answered by similar peals from all the islands round. I do not quite agree with a friend who was with me at the moment, and who, under the well-known signature of "W. R. G.," has told us that there was very little enthusiasm. I thought that there was a good deal; but I will not deny that my own feelings of exhilaration received a check when, amidst all the holiday glitter, I raised my eyes and saw the four bronze horses in front of St. Mark's looking down upon the scene. In Alexandria and in Rome, in Constantinople and in Paris, as well as in Venice itself, how many similar scenes had they witnessed, of how many illusions had they outlived the end! It is at such moments that the thought will arise unbidden—

> "And what is life?—A little strife, where victories are vain,
> Where those who conquer do not win, nor those receive who gain."

Russia, through all that has been passing, has preserved her attitude of neutrality and observation, guided by the policy which was summed up in the famous saying of Prince Gortschakoff's, which I have before quoted to you: "Russia *re*collects herself;" and ever under the necessity, neatly expressed in words attributed to Count Bismarck some years ago, "Russia may have velleities in the East, but she can only interfere in a great manner."

And India—well, I could willingly say much of India, and all that I would have to say would on the whole be satisfactory, but human patience has its limits, and you listened to Indian affairs for an hour and a half last year. To enter upon altogether a new subject at this time of the evening would be out of the question, and I trust to your kindness for giving me my revenge on some future day.

APPENDIX.

TO THE ELECTORS OF ELGIN, PETERHEAD, BANFF, MACDUFF, CULLEN, INVERURIE, AND KINTORE.

GENTLEMEN—Before appealing, as a Candidate, to the Enlarged Constituency, my first duty is to acknowledge, with the strongest feelings of gratitude, the kindness and constancy of the old Constituency, which I have served zealously, and, I hope, not quite inefficiently, since 1857. Nor can I forget that Electors and Non-Electors have been at one, alike in their political convictions and in their friendly feelings towards myself.

I have always made it one of my first objects to try, as far as possible, to keep up a close political sympathy with those whom I had the privilege of representing, and, with that view, I have endeavoured, every autumn, to give no mere perfunctory "account of my stewardship," but the most careful *resumé* of my thoughts on the political circumstances of the times, which it was in my power to put together. There must, I think, be very few among you, to whom my opinions upon all subjects of general political interest are not familiar; thanks, above all, to the excellent management of the Press throughout the district. This fact makes it unnecessary for me to make a very elaborate profession of political faith on the present occasion; still, I cannot but remember that we are taking leave of an old and commencing a new state of things, and that something more than the usual brief address, asking for re-election, may be considered proper and respectful.

At length, after years of debate and an inordinate waste of public time by persons who ought to have known that what we were asking for was not only just, but inevitable, we have obtained

a measure of Electoral Reform, which needs, no doubt, revision and correction, but the main features of which appear to be acceptable to the country.

The question now arises—What are we to do next? Are we to rest content with a mere improvement in the machinery of Government, or are we to see that that change in machinery shall help us forward along the road of enlightenment and progress?

The Constituency which I am addressing, like the Constituency about to be merged in it, will, I feel well assured, give no uncertain answer to such a question. "We must press on," it will say, "and press on without those hesitations which are to be deplored in the history of the last six-and-thirty years."

During the next generation, I am fully persuaded that all our institutions will be asked, so to speak, to re-state the reasons of their existence, and be judged according to their capacity for furthering the common weal. So averse are our countrymen to all change not manifestly necessary; that such of those institutions as have historical right upon their side, will not find it difficult to conform to the exigencies of the new time; but woe unto those which are determinedly obstructive! Woe unto those whose friends are rash enough to say, "Let them be as they are, or let them not be at all!"

Such obstinate institutions will soon hear the ominous words —"Too late!"—words now sounding in the ears of that Irish Establishment, which so fondly imagined that its dangers were at an end with the failure of the Appropriation Clause.

The question of the Irish Establishment has been long before the country, and, in my humble judgment, the honour of putting an end to that monster injustice should have belonged to the Constituencies of 1832. In that belief, I took an active part in pressing the great Irish grievance upon the attention of Lord Palmerston's Government, both in 1863 and in 1865.

If the question of the Irish Establishment might well have been decided by the old Constituencies, it is hardly so with the question of Education. Since 1858, four Royal Commissions, the first appointed at the suggestion of Sir John Pakington, the second at my own, the third and fourth appointed as supplements to the other two, have collected a body of information with regard to the

educational state and requirements of Great Britain which is, I think, without a parallel. Its effect upon public opinion has been very great, and many things are now possible which were quite hopeless ten years ago. Now, then, is the time to set about the revision of our system, or rather no-system, of primary, secondary, and higher instruction, in a comprehensive, unsectarian, and national spirit.

Mr. Gladstone has recently called the attention of the country to the increase in our expenditure—an increase which I cannot but regret, for I am more and more persuaded that economy is necessary to our material prosperity, and that material prosperity is, at least in the present stage of society, the first condition of the moral and intellectual advancement of our people.

The admission of so many of our less wealthy fellow-citizens to a more direct share in the government of the country, will surely strengthen the hands of those of us who have at heart a serious reduction of taxation, to be effected, not by a futile pecking at the Estimates, but by bringing into power, and keeping in power, a Government which has the reduction of expenditure at heart.

With the repeal of the Corn Laws, England commenced a new phase of her existence; but she has hardly yet realised the full meaning of the doctrines which she then accepted, or understood how far the path on which she then entered would lead her.

The great man who did most to give us free trade in corn, went to his rest with his work half done; but those who knew him best, tell us that he attached quite as much importance to freeing the land from the shackles, by which its passage from hand to hand is so unnecessarily hampered, as he did to the measure which was the crowning achievement of his life.

The last twenty years have settled, or put in course of settlement, many of the most difficult problems which perplexed the statesmen of Europe, and have swept away most of those burning injustices which, by rousing the indignation of all generous minds, made it hard to accept that doctrine of non-intervention which ought, as a general rule, to govern our foreign policy. A new state of things has arisen. Europe, freer and better governed than she was, is groaning under the weight of her own armour, and the crown in the race of statesmanship, during the next few years, will

belong to him who shall succeed in restoring to the service of humanity a large proportion of the strong arms which are now being wasted in the busy idleness of military exercises. It is within my own knowledge that the eyes of many of the ablest European politicians have been, during the last eighteen months, anxiously directed towards the British Parliament, waiting for some action to be taken in this country towards bringing about so beneficent a result. The circumstances of the last two years have made that impossible which will, I trust, be easy in years that are to come.

The time is surely approaching when we shall all feel that national co-operation, not national competition, should be our watchword; that commercial, social, and intellectual *interdependence* are as important as political *independence*, and that the loftiest epitaph to which any politician of our day can aspire is contained in the words which were applied by a French Minister of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Cobden—"He was an international man."

On Indian Policy, on Colonial Policy, on Army Reform, on the Amendment and Codification of the Law, on the relations of Capital and Labour, on the Game Laws, on every question which I see alluded to in the addresses and speeches of candidates, I have explained my views at our autumn meetings, and upon other similar occasions. At least two months and a-half must pass by before the General Election can take place, but, ere it comes, I hope to have the honour of visiting all the burghs as a candidate for your suffrages, and of laying my views upon political matters before you with that unreserve which, after an experience of eleven years, you will, I think, admit to be habitual with me, and which, if you do me the honour once more to send me to the House of Commons, you will assuredly find unaltered.

Meanwhile, with renewed thanks to the old Constituency, which has so long, so generously, and so steadily supported me, I remain, GENTLEMEN, your obedient servant,

M. E. GRANT DUFF.

EDEN, *August* 29, 1868.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, *July* 9, 1869.

I AM glad that my hon. friend, the member for Penryn, whose connection both with the literature and politics of the East is well known, has, at last, succeeded in bringing this question before the House; and yet the first idea which struck me, when I heard that he proposed doing so, was, that since the end of last session, the Legislature has been deprived of the services of the two men who were better fitted than any others to enlighten it upon all that relates to Central Asia. The long experience of Sir Henry Rawlinson, though gone from the House of Commons, is gained, I am happy to say, to the Council of India, but the vast knowledge and the many gifts of Lord Strangford are lost for ever to his friends and to his country.

The honourable member has, as was to be expected, devoted a considerable part of his speech to our relations with Persia. Against the practical conclusions at which he has arrived I have little to advance. I am as anxious as he can be that we should keep, not only on amicable, but even upon cordial terms with the government of the Shah; but I wish it to be distinctly understood, that in advocating close relations with Persia, I am guided chiefly by the following considerations:—Firstly, it seems desirable that we should support that government from motives of good neighbourhood, and because it is the obvious interest of a country situated like Great Britain that every civilisation should develop itself in its own way. Secondly, it is desirable that we should be acceptable to and influential at Teheran, in order that we may work in the interests of peace. When Persia quarrels with Turkey or with Russia, we suffer more or less; when she quarrels with the small potentates of the Gulf, we suffer more or less; but when she quarrels with the Afghans or Beloochistan, it is *proximus ardet Ucalegon*, and we are put to infinite expense and inconvenience in ordering out the fire-engines. Thirdly, it is desirable that we should be strong at Teheran, in order that we may give all possible support to the material development of the country. The trade between Persia and India is already considerable, but I

am assured by those most intimately acquainted with its details that it is not likely to increase until better roads are made from the interior to the seaboard of Persia. For the obtaining of this and many other good things for that country, nothing is wanted but external peace and internal strong government, together with the counsel and support of a thoroughly disinterested and highly civilised power.

My hon. friend is in favour of lending Indian officers to drill the armies of the Shah. There are many precedents for this; and if, in these times of peace, redundant officers could be spared from India, and if Persia would make it worth the while of officers who would do our army credit to go thither, I see no reason against letting them go, provided always it is distinctly understood that they are only allowed to go in consequence of a direct application from the Shah, and that they are not allowed to take part in any war against Powers with which this country is at peace.

With regard to the affairs of Seistan, very few persons can claim to be as well informed as my hon. friend; but is not the state of things pretty much this?—From 1509 to 1749, Seistan was Persian territory, but about that date it was added to the new kingdom of Afghanistan by Ahmed Shah. During his reign, which was a long one, it remained subject to Afghanistan. Then it revolted, and remained for a considerable period independent; and independent it was when Captain Christie travelled through it in 1810. Persia took advantage of the English invasion of Afghanistan to put forth her long-dormant pretensions to it, and in 1853 the Persian standard was hoisted with the good will of at least one of its chiefs. From that time to this there has been a Persian party and an Afghan party, which have struggled together with various fortunes. Her Majesty's Government has not, so far as I know, given a very positive and final opinion as to which of the two powers has the best claim on the disputed territory, nor, indeed, as to whether either party is *de jure* master of Seistan, and I do not feel justified in saying anything positive on the subject.

My hon. friend has spoken of the importance of Herat. No one who knows the facts will under-rate its importance; and Her Majesty's Government has, certainly, never done so. It is a great, and, in the hands of a European power, might become a unique,

fortress; and it is surrounded by a very fertile country, where an army might encamp, and whence it might, no doubt, advance towards Scinde. It is, however, possible to over-rate, as well as to under-rate, not the importance of Herat as a place for a conqueror to hold with a view to being strong in Western Asia, but its special importance with regard to us. It should not be forgotten that from Herat to the Indus there are 818 miles; and when I reflect on what an army would have to go through when advancing from Herat to our territory, I cannot help thinking of the words of the poet—

> "But many a banner shall be torn,
> And many a knight to earth be borne,
> And many a sheaf of arrows spent,
> Ere Scotland's king shall cross the Trent."

My hon. friend spoke of the advantage to Persia of possessing Herat, in order to defend her frontier against Turcoman raids. I agree with him as to the object, for there are few human beings whose lot is more to be compassionated than those unfortunate Persians who are carried off by the Turcomans to the slave-market of Khiva; but I demur to the Persian theory as to the way in which it is to be effected.

What Persia wants for the protection of her people against the Turcomans is not Herat, but a strong government and an effective military administration on her frontier.

I cannot agree with my hon. friend when he advocates an advance to Quettah. I am persuaded that an advance to Quettah would be very far from being really agreeable to Kelat, while it could not fail to irritate both Persia and Afghanistan, and wake up old fears of annexation. Looking at it from the English point of view, it would be frightfully expensive and very unpopular in the army when the first novelty was over. It would involve throwing a considerable force 257 miles—say twenty long marches—in advance of our present frontier posts, and it would turn the Bolan Pass into a difficulty behind us, instead of leaving it, as it is, a defence in front of us.

Our relations with Russia are at present of the most cordial kind, and the communications which have lately passed between the two governments with regard to Central Asia—communications

to which somewhat undue importance has been attached — have been most friendly. I have always been an advocate for the co-operative policy in the relations of England and Russia in Asia; but that is a question for the future. It is early days to talk of anything more than the most general good understanding. We are still separated from each other by vast distances, and the orbits of our politics do not yet touch.

There are, however, some matters of fact with respect to the Russian position in Asia which are not sufficiently known, and which ought to be known before a just idea can be formed of the present state of things in Central Asia. And, first, I would wish to give the most positive denial to three stories, which have been frequently repeated. It has been said that the Russians are in force at Charjui on the Oxus. It is not so. The Russians have never been within many days' march of Charjui. It has been said that the Russians have established a post at Gumah, between Yarkand and Khoten. It is not so. They have never been within some hundred miles of that place. It has been said that a Captain Reinthal had been *with* a party surveying in Afghanistan. That is a fiction founded on his having been, *not with* a surveying party, at Kashgar. So that the tale has about as much foundation as if it had been noised abroad that a Russian officer with a surveying party had been examining the Chiltern Hills; whereas, indeed, in truth, the Russian officer in question had been in Galway.

The two farthest points to which the Russians have penetrated in the Khanate of Bokhara are Bokhara itself * and Karshi, which last place they took from the Ameer's rebel son and restored to his father. From both these points they have now fallen back, and it would appear that their outposts at present are Samarcand and two smaller places not very far from it. I should not be at all surprised if they even withdrew from Samarcand, at least for a time, for Samarcand is cut off from the Jaxartes by a desert tract very difficult to traverse. It is far from improbable that they may place, for a time, their advanced post at Khodjend, far in the rear of their present advanced posts, a place from which they would be still able to dictate to both Kokand and Bokhara. Anyhow,

* This was a mistake, founded on erroneous Russian information. No Russian force reached Bokhara itself.

Samarcand may be taken as, to all intents and purposes, the extreme point of Russian advance towards British India on the Afghanistan side for some time to come. Their farthest point of advance towards British India on the side of Eastern Turkestan is a small detached fort on the Naryn—that is, on the head waters of the great Jaxartes, far, far away from any support; so far away as to be really not an advanced post, in the ordinary sense, at all.

Persons who look at the map of Central Asia, and know that the Russians are at Samarcand, and that they have also an outpost only 167 miles from Kashgar, high up on the Naryn, very naturally conclude that these two extreme points of their advance towards Afghanistan and Cashmere are connected with each other. But this is as far as possible from being the case. The whole independent part of the Khanate of Kokand lies between these points of advance, and, in addition, there is a huge mountain knot of hardly peopled country.

Roughly stated, the position is this:—Suppose some power advancing from the north towards Italy. Let it have one body of men, say 2000 strong, at Clermont, in the heart of Auvergne. Let it have another body of men, say 1000 strong, at Zürich in Switzerland; and let the military connection of this body of 1000 men be kept up with Clermont only by a route leading round through southern Germany to a point on the north of the lake of Constance, say Augsburg, and so southward to Zürich by Constance. That is about the state of affairs, if, instead of Clermont, Zürich, and Augsburg, you read Samarcand, the outpost of Kurtka, and Fort Vernoe, the most southern point at which the Russians are in anything like strength in the direction of Cashmere, from which it is separated by many hundreds of miles, and by some of the most difficult country on the face of the earth.

There is, however, this difference between the European and the Asiatic regions: in France, Germany, and Switzerland, there are good roads, in Central Asia there are none. In all the huge province to which the Russians have lately given the name of Turkestan, and of which one centre is at Samarcand and the other at Fort Vernoe, they may have, on a liberal computation, some 25,000 men, for the most part scattered in lonely posts, engaged in keeping up communications.

Transfer the scene again to Europe. Would the existence of such a force between Clermont and Augsburg, with its reservoir of strength 1800 miles to the north-west of Clermont — that is far in the Atlantic behind the British Isles—be sufficient to frighten the holders of the Venetian Quadrilateral out of their propriety?

The idea of the invasion of British India by Russia is really so preposterous that I cannot for a moment entertain it. But suppose, for the sake of argument, that the whole western half of Northern Asia were occupied, not by the outlying provinces of a great European empire, but by a substantive empire which had no cares to distract it from the one thought of pushing southwards. Suppose again, that the forlorn and far-off towns of Siberia, Orenburg, and the rest, were busy and crowded centres of national life; and suppose, further, that all this national life were directed by a man of vast military ambition, who, burning for the battle-fields of British India, had already advanced on the Afghanistan side as far as Samarcand, and on the side of Eastern Turkestan so far as the small fort on the Naryn, which now forms the outpost of Russia in that direction. This conqueror, supposing he marched by Herat, which would be his easiest road, would have before he reached that fortress 613 miles to traverse. That is to say, he would have to pass over something very like the space between London and Inverness, and would not, unhappily for him, be able in doing so to take advantage of the "limited mail." We need not follow his route from Herat to Candahar, and from Candahar onwards—about 818 miles more, making more than 1400 in all. Suppose he traversed it with as little loss as could reasonably be expected by an army traversing so vast a distance, still, the last stage of the journey must be 66 miles of the weary Bolan Pass, and behind the Bolan Pass a strip of desert, and behind the strip of desert a large and well-appointed army, able to choose exactly its own ground, absolutely fresh and untired, having traversed with every appliance of modern science nearly the whole of the distance from which its most far-drawn regiments had come. That is the grand route, incomparably the easiest of all the routes.

Take another. Let the supposed invader march from Bokhara to Balkh—you have 310 miles. From Balkh, through the tremendous Bamian Pass to Cabul is 347 miles. From Cabul to Peshawur is

about 194 more, through the Khyber Pass. We know something of the pleasures of that route; and remember that behind the Khyber he would meet the "drilled and iron ranks" of the same army.

Take a third and last route from Tashkund, across the still independent state of Kokand, and over the Thian-Shan mountains by the Terek Pass down upon Kashgar, that must be about 477 miles; then, from Kashgar to Yarkand as the crow flies must be about 130 miles; from Yarkand a short journey would bring him to that agreeable Pass of which we have heard so much lately, the Chang-Chin-Moo, no doubt less difficult than the old Karakorum route, but for which the best that can be said, as a route for an army, is that, given every condition of season, skilful commissariat, and the rest as favourable as possible; given that Eastern Turkestan had become an absolutely integral part of the dominions of this great West Asiatic Empire, and further, was bristling with troops like the Rhenish frontier, it might not be wholly impracticable to a man of the temper of Alexander the Great or Charles XII.

Since our relations with Afghanistan were last alluded to in this House, the whole story of our recent policy towards our unruly neighbours beyond the Passes has been told in another place, very succinctly, but very clearly, by the chief mover in that policy.

A friend said to me early this session, "I am sorry you have given that money to Shere Ali; you are only buying the air." Well, if the transaction were to be looked on as one of sale and purchase, my friend was quite right; but that was just what it was not. Ever since the death of Dost Mahomed, the Indian Government has been longing for something like stability in the affairs of Afghanistan. We have trouble enough with the wild tribes along 800 miles of our North-western frontier, with whom our relations are precisely those which existed in the days of James V. between the Lowlanders and Highlanders of Scotland, without having behind them this surging, raging Afghanistan, out of which no one can know what form of trouble may arise at any moment.

Those who have followed the tangled story of the events which have occurred there in the last few years know perfectly well that what Lord Lawrence was always wishing for was some prospect of prolonged peace. This was the burden of all his communications; and, in consequence, he did not scruple to recognise Afzul Khan as

de facto ruler, although his sympathies, so far as he can be said to have had any sympathies in the matter, other than a sympathy for quiet, were with Shere Ali, who was the favoured son of Dost Mahomed, and was first recognised by us.

It was not till last October that Lord Lawrence thought that the mobile minds of the Afghan people had at last turned so distinctly towards Shere Ali, that he was really likely to obtain such an amount of support as to enable him to hold the country in his grasp, as his father had held it; and it was not till then that he determined to give that amount of assistance which would, in his opinion, just make the difference between Shere Ali having a thoroughly assured and a doubtful supremacy.

People have written as if he had been moved to do so by some apprehension about Russia, but that is utterly opposed to the fact. If we could go back to 1730, when Russia first began that long march of conquest—and, I will add, of beneficent conquest—which has taken her from the banks of the Ural to Bokhara, a wise ruler of India would, given the existing circumstances of Afghanistan, have done the same. To have plunged into the seething gulf of Afghan politics only a few months before would have been most unwise; but Lord Lawrence seized the favourable moment, when a little assistance might be expected to act as oil has been said to do at the bar of the Tagus, and turn the seething gulf into calm water.

The Government does not dream of erecting Shere Ali into a bulwark against Russia, or against anybody else. If any bulwark were wanted in that part of the world, nature has planted bulwarks enough, in all conscience, as we once found out to our cost, and as anybody else would soon find out to theirs. What we want is a quiet Afghanistan, just as we want a quiet Burmah.

The Government wants to be able to use every penny it can scrape together in India for the moral and material development of the country. We wish to stimulate commerce round the whole of the land and sea frontier, and it does not at all suit us to have one of our trade-gates locked up by a burning house, the cellars of which are known to be full of highly explosive compounds. We want Shere Ali to understand that we do not covet a square inch of his territory, or ask any kind of assistance from him other than

the sort of indirect assistance which a civilised Government must always derive from being known to exercise a pacifying and semi-civilising influence around its own borders. If we effect this object, the money we have given, and the money we may give, will be an uncommonly good investment. It will be honourable to Shere Ali to receive it, because he is asked to do nothing for it except what it would be to his interest and honour to do if he did not receive one farthing; and it will be honourable to us to give it, because our only object is to get that done which every benevolent man would wish to see done, even if his own interest were in no way affected—that is, to see a fine country rescued from miserable anarchy.

The experience of the past tells us that we are never safer than when a strong man keeps his house on our frontier. The danger comes when the strong man is gone, and the house is divided against itself. Contrast the period of Runjeet Singh with the period that immediately followed it. Was it in the days of the Old Lion, or in the days of his weak successors, that wave after wave of war broke upon our border, until we were obliged fairly to incorporate with our dominions a territory as large as the kingdom of Italy? Did our last experiment of making it worth while for the Afghans to be peaceable neighbours turn out so badly? If Dost Mahomed had not been eating our salt in 1867, is it quite so certain that he would have resisted the pressure, the very strong pressure, that was put upon him by the fanatical party at Cabul to swoop down upon the Punjab?

We have been accustomed to talk scornfully of Afghan faith, as another great imperial nation used to talk of Punic faith; and probably in the main we speak truly; but if the transactions of the last forty years between us and the house of Dost Mahomed were carefully added up and compared, I am not so sure that the balance in our favour would be so great as it ought to be.

Before leaving the affairs of Afghanistan, there is just one other point to which I alluded a moment ago, and on which I wish to say a few words more. I do not think that the majority of our countrymen rightly apprehend our position in North-western India. They think of us as in immediate contact with Afghanistan; and when they hear of our wishing to be on good terms with that

country, they think that it can only be because we wish for assistance against the Muscovite sceptre that is moving slowly southwards. But that is a pure delusion. Between us and the Afghans proper there is an inner ring of wild tribes, numbering many thousand fighting men, who give us infinite trouble, and against whom we have every few months some little fighting to do.

From time to time the little fighting becomes great fighting, and we have a really serious campaign, like that of Umbeyla in 1863.

Now, as long as we are on thoroughly good terms with the Afghans, we exercise a far greater check over these people than we can do at other times, and we paralyse the efforts of the disaffected Mussulman fanatics in the Ganges valley who are in communication with some of them, and who use their known zeal for Islam as a means of exciting disquiet among our own subjects.

And now one word about the Umballa interview. I see that some very able writers in India imagine that it was the starting-point of a new policy. I cannot too emphatically deny that. There is no new policy. Circumstances in Afghanistan have changed. The spirit in which the Government regards them has not changed. The policy of Her Majesty's Government with reference to Central Asia, in so far as it is connected with India, may be thus summed up :—

First, we desire to live on the best possible terms with all our neighbours, by which I mean that we not only desire to do no harm to them, but that each one of them should not only be, but feel himself, the stronger and happier for being in contact with Her Majesty's Indian Empire.

Secondly, we intend to strengthen in every possible way our north-western frontier. We intend to make, and are making, Kurrachee as good a port as modern engineering science can make it. We look forward to the completion, at no very distant period, of the missing link of railway in the Indus valley, and we are already pushing the railway on towards Peshawur.

Thirdly, we mean to give every encouragement to the extension of trade with Central Asia. We look with considerable favour upon the efforts which are being made by Mr. Forsyth and others to extend that trade, and we are glad to observe that the Maharajah of

Cashmere and his able minister have been acting thoroughly with us in that matter. We will regard with the most friendly feelings any judicious efforts that may be made to increase our knowledge of the countries to the north-west, as well as to the north-east and east of our dominions. It is, perhaps, not altogether creditable to Great Britain that the geographer should have any work still to do so near British territory, but the difficulties have been, and are even now, great; and, considering how recent an acquisition the Punjab after all is, we may, I hope, plead not unsuccessfully before the science of Europe the *res dura* and the *regni novitas.*

Lastly, we are firmly persuaded that, if we could believe in the possibility of any danger from the side of Central Asia threatening us at present in India—if, in short, that great substantive conquering empire of which I spoke a little time ago did exist, and were not a mere fiction of the brain—our best protection, a better protection even than the vast spaces which a hostile army would have to traverse, or than the strength which that hostile army would have to meet, lies, and will ever lie, in the good government of India, in the development of the material prosperity and general well-being of the people.

We wish our rule there to be increasingly sympathetic, as well as increasingly enlightened; and, while we will crush and stamp out every, the slightest attempt, at resistance to authority, we will not forget that authority in India, as in Europe, has sometimes "beat with his staff the child that might have led him."

By these acts, we believe, if by any, empire will be deserved and will be held; and while we will watch, and are watching, with the deepest and minutest interest, the development of events in Central Asia, and while we will thank the hon. gentleman who has spoken to-night, and any other hon. gentleman, for giving us from time to time the benefit of any information which they may have, or any ideas that may occur to them, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we have not a feeling of uneasiness or alarm about this whole matter. And the fact that Russia has advanced to a point between Samarcand and Bokhara has not induced us to do any one thing which we would not have had the strongest motives for doing if she had never passed a verst beyond the Orenburg line.

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